

S'rī Gokulanāthajī's Contribution
to
S'uddhādvaita Vedānta



by
R. H. GANDHI

A Thesis submitted
to
The M. S. University of Baroda
for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Arts,
The M.S. University of Baroda,
Baroda.
1964

INDEX

Preface	Page No. (i)
Abbreviations	" " (iv)
Statement No.1 & No.2.	" " (xi)
Synopses	" " (ix)
The Thesis	Page 1 to 454
<u>Chapters.</u>	
No. I An outline of origin & developement of Vēdānt and Suddhādvaita Brahmavāda of Śrī Vallabhācārya	" " 1 to 48
No. II Life of Gokulanāthaji	" " 49 to 127
No. III Works of Gokulanāthaji	" " 128 to 154
No. III(a) Sanskrit works	" " 155 to 296
No. III(b) Vārta Sāhitya	" " 297 to 353
No. III(c) Bhāvanā Sāhitya	" " 354 to 381
No. III(d) Vacanāmṛta Sāhitya	" " 382 to 397
No. III(e) Letters, Padas and miscellaneous works	" " 398 to 417
No. IV Followers of Gokulanāthaji	" " 418 to 440
No. V Estimate	" " 441 to 454
Appendices I to X	" " (i) to (xxxvi)
Bibliography	" " 1 to 11



Srī Gokulanāthajī in his young age
(This is Gokulanāthajī's well-known portrait
in the Sampradāya.)

(By courtesy of Suddha-advaita Samśad, Baroda)

PREFACE

I present in the following pages the result of my work on the theiss titled 'S'ri Gokulanāthajī's contribution to S'uddhādvaita Vedānta.' The term S'uddhādvaita Vedānta is understood here in its wider sense, a School of Philosophy and Religion, particularly The Puṣṭimārga. I have tried my best to obtain all available material and have made judicious use of it. How the present work tends to add to the advancement of general knowledge, is said in the statement No.1.

I would like to clarify one point here. The words bhāṣya, ṭīkā, vivṛti, vivaraṇa, vyākhyā, etc., have some technical sense, but it appears that the writers of Vallabha Sampradāya have not been scrupulous in using these words. I have used in English the words tract and commentary (or ṭīkā) for all such words. As regards transliteration, I have to state that I have not followed it in the case of names which are popularly spelt otherwise.

Here I take an opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to those who have helped me in various ways. I owe a great deal to my learned preceptor Prof. G. H. Bhatt, who always helped me in collecting material for the thesis, who guided me by his valuable suggestions and who put his rich library at my disposal. It is on account of his encouragement


and inspiration that I could complete the work.

It would be ungrateful on my part, if I do not remember and thank Shri Chimanlal M. Vaidya of Modasa, and Shri Puruṣottamadās T. Kavi of Nadiad. They gave me valuable MSS of Gokulanāthajī's and his followers' works and also helped me in collecting works and information. I have also to express my sincere sense of gratitude to H.H. Gosvāmī Shri Vrajabhūsanajī Mahārāja of Kāṅkarolī for allowing me in his MS library (Vidyā Vibhāga) for reading MSS of Gokulanāthajī's works. I am equally obliged to H.H. Gosvāmī Shri Mādhavarāyajī of Porbandar and Shri Jannadas Zalani of Ujjain for sparing their valuable MSS of Gokulanāthajī's Bādī (long) Tīkā of Sarvottama-Stotra. I also thank Pandit Kanthamani and Shastri Chhogalalji of Kāṅkarolī for their help in finding MSS and replying to my queries. I am also thankful to the trustees of the Puṣṭimārgīya Pustakālaya of Nadiad for allowing me a free use of all the books at my own convenience, and also to the trustees of Gokulanāthajī's Mandira of Sultapura - Baroda for allowing me to read the MS of the Kallola which depicts the life of Gokulanāthajī in fifteen cantos.

iii

I must not forget to thank here Shri
Lallubhai C. Desai of Ahmedabad for sparing his
photo-blocks of the portraits of Gokulanāthajī.

Date- 11th September, 1964)


(R.H. Gandhi)

Abbreviations

AKP	Antahkaranaprobodha
AnBh	Anubhāṣya
BC	Bethaka Caritra
BG	Bhāgavata
BhV	Bhaktivardhini
Badī Tika	The long commentary of Gokulanāthajī on the Savottamastotra
BS	Brahmasutra
BhS	Bhāvasindhu
BSSS	Brhatstotra-saritsāgara
com, comm	Commentary, Commentaries.
GB	Gāyatribhāṣya
GO	Gokulanāthajī
GV	Gharuvārtā
GVS	Gokules'a-Vāksudhā
K.Bhaṭṭa	Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa
MS	Manuscript
NL	Nirodhalakṣaṇa
NV	Nijavārtā
P.	Page
P.MS or MS(P)	Porbandar Manuscript of the Badī Tika
PPM	Pustipravāhamaryādā
RBh	Rahasyabhāvanā
Rv	Rgveda

SK	Sampradāya Kalpadruma
SM	Siddhāntamuktāvalī
SN	Samnyāsanirṇaya
SR	Siddhāntarahasya
SS	Sarvottamastotra
St.	Stanza
Sub	Subodhinī
TDN	Tattvadīpanibandha
T. U. or TU	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
U or UP	Upaniṣad
UBh	Utsevabhāvanā
Vac	Vacanāmṛtas
VL	Vallabhācārya
VS	Vallabhīyasudhā
V.S.	Vikrama Samvat
VT	Vitthalanāthajī alias Gosāijī

Statement No.1.

How the present work tends to the general
advancement of knowledge

Suddhādvaita Philosophy has made a great impact on Indian society since 16th century A.D. It has a good following in different parts of our country, particularly in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Western U.P. In Gujarat, the term Vaiṣṇava mostly means a follower of the school of Vallabhācāryā, viz. Puṣṭimārga. A study about the Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarat is presented by Dr.N.A.Thoothi in his thesis titled 'Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarat.' It is a general study and not of a particular school or author. This work presents a study of a particular author, viz, GO. S'rī Gokulanāthajī, one of the grandsons of S'rī Vallabhācāryā, was instrumental in the spread and strengthening of this religious sect, which believes in the Doctrine of Grace; and he is one of the important writers on S'uddhādvaita Philosophy and Puṣṭimārga. Most of his works are published with Gujarati translations ^{but} and some of his works are still unpublished. But so far a critical study of his works is not done, nor is his contribution evaluated. I have tried to make, in this thesis, a critical study of his works and have evaluated them. I have also studied some rare MSS of

his works and have also collected information about his works and followers from the MS-libraries and several persons and places. I have shown how the Vraja-bhāṣa works (the Vārtas and the Bhāvanās and the Vacanāmṛtas) are important and have influenced the school of Vallabhācārya.¹ I think, it would be an humble contribution to the realm of oriental learning, particularly to Indian Philosophy and Religion, and I hope, it would be instrumental in removing scandals and wrong notions about the religious sect, called Puṣṭimārga, particularly those mentioned in the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII" and in "Brahmanism and Hinduism" by Monier-Williams.

I have attached hereto copies of available portraits of S'ri Gokulnāthajī and also photo-copies of one or two pages of some MSS of Gokulanāthajī's works.

Statement No. 2.

Sources

In the preparation of the thesis, I have fully utilised all the available material, printed, as well as unpublished. Literature on GO is available in Gujarati, in Hindi and Samskrta. References to and translation of some his works are also found in some of the periodicals, past as well as present. There are some works of GO which are still unpublished and are mentioned in the lists of MSS in the Puṣṭimārgīya temples, such as Kāṅkaroli, Kāṅkana, Gokul etc. I have made use of available MSS. I have also visited several places and persons and have tried to gather as much information as possible. References to such persons and places is made at the relevant places. I have critically examined the available information and have presented the estimate of the works of and the contribution of GO.

SYNOPSIS

Chapter I

An outline of origin and development of
Vedānta and S'uddhādvaita Brahmavāda of
S'rī Vallabhācārya. (VL).

There are many religious sects and faiths in India, Suddhādvaita Brahmavāda is one of them. It is propounded by VL. - Growth of Vedānta. Earliest attempts of the quest of Truth are noticed in the Vedas. Two lines of thought are seen: Karma-Kāṇḍa and Jñāna-Kāṇḍa. There is no system in the Upaniṣads. Next comes the Sūtra period and then ^{the} Bhāṣya period. Different ācāryas and their doctrines are mentioned. The term S'uddhādvaita is explained. Its exponent is VL. His life, works, and philosophy are mentioned. Whether VL followed Viṣṇusvāmin? Viṭṭhalanāthajī (VT) and his works. He became instrumental in the spread of Puṣṭimārga. The age of VL was full of political upheavals and social insecurity. That fact led to the spread of the path of devotion. Cult of Bhakti is noticed in old scriptures. How VL differed from it. Puṣṭimārga was misunderstood in later times. Descendants of VT and other writers on S'uddhādvaita are mentioned.

Chapter II.

Life and Personality of Gokulanāthajī (GO)

A dispassionate study of his life. GO's name - his childhood and education - His marriage and family affairs. He journeyed to Gujarat in 1646-47 (V.S.) = 1590-91 (A.D.). The event, known as mālā-prasaṅga, is described. GO acted very tactfully. The mālā-prasaṅga is historically examined. Statements of Akho about GO are examined. Personality of GO - How he passed his last days - GO's personal deity - Veracity of Puranic references to GO is examined.

Chapter III.

Works of Gokulanāthajī (GO).

GO was a prolific writer - his works as mentioned by different writers and in different periodicals - There is no unanimity of opinion about the number of his works. Classification of his works - about the chronology of his works - Some miscellaneous information about his works.

Chapter III-(a).

GO's Works in Samskr̥ta

Study of his original works in Samskr̥ta: Tilaka Nirṇaya, Nāmavalī and Vijñapti - study of his tīkāś on

the works of Viṭṭhalanāthajī, such as Sarvottama-stotra - Brhatī (Badi) Tīkā on Sarvottama-stotra is a valuable contribution. Study of GO's commentaries on some of the 'Sixteen Treatises' of VL - study of his commentaries on the Gadya-mantra, Gayatrī-bhāṣya and other works.

Chapter III-(b).

Vārtā-Sāhitya.

The term Vārtā-Sāhitya - Authorship of the 84 and 252 Vārtās - an incident mentioned in a MS of 1746 V.S. - Study of the 84 and 252 Vārtās, Bhāva-Sindhu, Nija-Vārtā, Gharu-vārtā, Bethaka-caritra, the Prākṛtya-vārtās and Vana-yātrā etc. - estimate of the Vārtā-Sāhitya - reference to a work not available now - Vallabha - Kalpadruma.

Chapter III-(c).

Bhāvanā - Sāhitya

What is Bhāvnā-Sāhitya? - about Rahasya-Bhāvnā, Utsava-Bhāvanā, Līlā-Bhāvanā, Bhāva-Bhāvanā, Svarūpa-Bhāvanā etc., - Different published Bhāvanās and some MSS compared - whether Harirāyaji is their author - Contents of an unpublished work ← 'S'ri Ācāryaji Tathā S'rī Guṣāmijī ke Svarūpa Ko Vicāra' -

importance of the Bhāvanā-Sāhitya.

Chapter III-(d).

Vacanāmṛta - Sāhitya

The term Vacanāmṛta - the Vārtas and Bhāvanās are not included in the bulk of the vacanāmṛtas - how vacanāmṛtas were collected - reference to the printed collections of GO's vacanāmṛtas - Vara - Vakyāmṛta - ratna - KOS' a and other collections of vacanāmṛtas not so far published - no systematic effort to edit the vacanāmṛtas is made. We find GO as a true exponent of the Puṣṭimārga in the vacanāmṛtas - Importance of ^{the} Vacanāmṛtas.

Chapter III-(e).

Letters, Padas and miscellaneous works

GO's used to write letters to his followers. Some of his letters are quoted. - The letter of Bhelasā raises an important issue. } padas and Dohas etc. by GO - He did not shine out as a poet. Other works : Ekādaśī Nirṇaya, Pras'nāvalī, Muhūrta vacanāmṛta (Gorakha Āṅka), Gorakha Kuṇḍalī. Did GO write such works on astrology? GO's handwriting.

Chapter IV.

Followers of Gokulanāthajī

Followers of Gokulanāthajī are known as Jai Jai Gokules'avalā or followers of the 'Fourth House' - Two main divisions: Bharucī and Nīmadīā - Difference of their outlook - Different groups of Bharucīs - Different modes of worship by the Nīmadīās - considerably vast literature produced by the Bharucīs - their principal virtue is ananyatā - a reference to the vinatis of Rupanībāī and others.

Chapter V.

Estimate

Gokulanāthajī wrote in Samskr̥t as well as Vrajabhāsā - He preached in the local dialect Vraja - study of his works evinces that he imbibed the true spirit of the Suddhādvaita Puṣṭimārga and brought it out in his commentaries, Vārtās and Vacanāmṛtas - He attached great importance to prameya rather than Pramāṇa - He was instrumental

in consolidating the Suddhādvaita school .
 He translated the Puṣṭimārgīya doctrine into action
 and preached mostly the practical side of religion
 rather than philosophical. He made a regular habit
 of preaching the way of Bhakti at noon and at night.
 He gave a note of warning to the Gosvāmīs through
 his comments on stanza 22 of Sarvottama-stotra and -
 'asmat-kulam'. He is the third great Ācārya. A
 quotation from ^{Nalēsan} ~~M.C. Parakh~~'s 'S'rī Vallabhācārya'
 is given.

THE THESIS

Chapter - 1

An Outline

of

Origin and development

of

Vedānta & S'uddhādvaita Brahmanvāda

of

S'ri Vallabhācārya

(i) Introductory

Max Muller once rightly remarked that an average Indian is a philosopher. But it is also equally true that an Indian is not totally averse to wordly happiness. He is taught to be a man of means, a happy householder¹. But at the same time he is asked to keep in mind his true nature, his true home, and not to be attached to and entangled in the mundane existence. A balanced outlook of life is noticed in the institute of the four stages of life (āś'ramas). Hundreds of saints have preached in their own way, the religious path of life and kept the lamp of spirituality burning. There is, consequently, a diversity of faiths and practices, but there is also the unity of purpose among all, viz., the chief aim of life is self-realisation.

दितव्यम्

1. vide... प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सीः।... भूत्य मा प्रमद।- T.U.1.11.1

In India, there are a number of religious sects and faiths. They have their own philosophical and theological literature. S'uddhādvaita Brahmanvāda popularly known as Puṣṭimārga is such a sect, having its own vast literature², mostly produced in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and a little of which is still being produced. S'uddha-advaita philosophy was propounded by Vallabhācārya (VL) in the first quarter of the 16th century A.D., which witnessed a great spiritual awakening in India. Before we look into that philosophy, we would survey the development of Vedānta in India.

(ii) Human search of Truth in the Vedas

The ultimate aim of human existence is to find out the root cause of Existence, to fathom the mystery of the gigantic phenomenon of this universe, and thereby to search for lasting happiness. What we are, whence we come and why we exist and what is our end - these are the eternal questions arising in human mind and search for the answers to these questions has

2. Cf. "It is doubtful if any family in the history of the entire world has produced so much literature, within a period of two or three centuries as that of his." M.C. Parekh: Shri Vallabhacharya, P-302.

not ended upto date. This search forms the subject of Philosophy and Religion. ?

The Origin of Philosophy and Religion is shrouded in mystery. It is not known when man started to inquire into the mystery of the universe and human existence. But the latest studies in this field have shown that the earliest attempts to solve the mystery are noted in the Rgveda, the oldest document, religious as well as literary. ?

Man turns to the realm of thought, when his physical needs are satisfied. The Vedic seer, it is said, lived in the fertile region of Sapta - Sindhu and therefore, did not find much difficulty in satisfying his physical needs. There was enough time for him to turn his eye towards the different universal phenomena. He observed the regular sunrise and sunset; he looked with wonder at the canopy of the sky studded with star - jewels, and enjoyed the beauties of dawn. He heard the singing rivulets and saw the regular changes of the seasons. He noticed with interest the regular growth of grass and herbs even after destruction. At the same time, there was another experience too. There were, at times, sweeping torrents of rain and devastating floods; there were at times droughts of rain, all-consuming fall of lightning and destructive gales of wind. The elements ?

were at times agreeable (anukūla) and at times cruel and unfavourable (pratikūla). He had no control over the unconquerable mighty powers of nature. He experienced the inability of human being to set right the wrongs wrought by nature. He was at the mercy of these different moods of nature. This led him to think that every phenomenon of nature has something superhuman, something divine within it. He thought of some divine power, underlying each and every natural phenomenon. There were thus, different gods and goddesses presiding over the different forces of Nature. There was the sun-god, Vāyu and Maruts (wind - gods), God Agni, Rain - Gods Parjanya and Indra, goddess Sarasvati and others. Even the plant Soma was looked upon as a god. These gods and goddesses were fancied to have human forms, paraphernalia and aspirations too. But everything connected with them was divine, superhuman. Personification of the natural phenomena, or anthropomorphism, thus, was the first stage towards understanding the universal phenomena.

These gods were propitiated with different offerings for happy and prosperous life. Hymns were composed in praise of their exploits and many Rcs give us an account of such incidents.. As time passed, a vast mythology was created around the gods.

The simple way of offering to gods, later developed into intricate rituals, called sacrifice, and a definite set of rules and regulations was formed to invoke and propitiate gods. The Brāhmana - texts contain the subject-matter of such different sacrificial activities. On the other hand, when there arose a legion of gods, questions like कस्मै देवाय हविष्ठा विधेम were asked. The Vedic Seer thought, which of the gods would be ^{the} mightiest and the highest and who would be the agent of the universe. Some hymns described that Indra was the highest god, some described Varuna as the highest and some pointed out that Prajāpati was the Lord of the universe. Thus, Henotheism or Kathenoism seemed to be the second stage towards understanding the universal phenomena.

Some Sūktas of the Rv. attempt to find out the origin of the Creation. For example, the Ap-Sūkta, the Hiranya - Garbha - Sūkta, the Purusa - Sūkta etc., tell us that it is the water, the Hiranyagarbha and the Purusa respectively, who is the prime cause of the universe. The riddle-hymn, which presents the problem of the Universe, tries to solve the problem, by saying that Truth³ is one, and is variously described by the learned. The Purusa-Sūktā points out that the Purusa

3. Cf. एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति । - - - - RV-I-164-46

is all pervading and the sole creative agency, while the Nāsadiya - Sūktā is a bold attempt to show^{not} the mystery of creation and existence still demanded explanation. Rv. , thus, presents the polytheistic, monotheistic and pantheistic tendencies in the development of philosophical and religious thought in India.

Two lines of thought were clearly visible during the Vedic age. One of them developed into a full-fledged sacrificial cult, - the Karma-Kāṇḍa of the Vedic religion. According to this line of thought, sacrifice was the sole aim of life and the right performance of sacrifice leads to bliss in the life after death. But doubts were raised as regards the efficacy of the sacrifice⁴. And the other line of thought noticed in the first and the tenth Māṇḍalas of the Rv., by the time, develops into the cult of the knowledge of Truth, - Jñāna-Kāṇḍa of the Vedic religion.

The Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads form the Jñāna - Kāṇḍa of the Vedic literature. They are really the glory of ancient India. They are the bold attempts at solving the mystery of the Universe. At places, one may find contradictions in statements of different Upaniṣads, but they agree in one point that Brahman is the creator of this Universe and He is omni-present

4. Cf. प्लवा इयेते अदुता यत्तूपाः । - Muṇḍakopaniṣad I-2-7:

...7...

Ommi-Scient and Ommi-potent. All the elements, the nature and all the beings are forms of Brahman, are created from Brahman and ultimately merge into Brahman.⁵ Thus, if the objective universe is Brahman, the reality in the individual beings, men as well as animals, is the self, and is not different from Brahman. This Highest Reality is beyond death⁶ and the summum bonum of life is the realization of the self or the Brahman.

Then, the question arises, why Brahman creates the Universe? He creates it, because He wants to sport.⁷

Different Upanishads treat of the way to realization and describe the abode of the Highest Reality, the Brahman.⁸ They also describe the 'svarupa' of the soul, the world and God. Herein we find some contradictory statements, which are responsible for the origin of the different systems of Vedanta philosophy later on. The vedic seers never attempted to form a definite system of philosophy. Different seers taught their pupils what they realised to be the Truth through their meditation and intuitive

5. Cf. यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते.... 1-TU 3-1 and

सर्वं सत्त्विदं ब्रह्म । - Cāndogya U3-14-1

6. Cf. अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे Katha U.1-2-18

7. Cf. स वै नैव रेमे तस्मादेकाकी न रमते स द्वितीयमिच्छत्। Brhadā.1-4-3

and तदेकान्तं बहुस्यां प्रजापयेति । - Cāndogya U.8-2

8. Cf. न तत्र सूर्यो धाति - - । - Katha U. 2-5-15

experiences. So, it is futile to chalk out a definite system of philosophy from the Up.s. But then, why have the different later philosophers done so? The answer lies in the convention in ancient India. It was accepted that the source of knowledge is the Vedas and every philosopher had to base his philosophical doctrine on the Vedas i.e. Up.s. Not only that, but later on, it was considered imperative on all philosophers to prove one-ness of the Ups., Gītā and the Brahmasūtras. Hence, all the ācāryas have adopted the same method.

(iii) The Sūtra - period

After the Upanisadic period was over, attempts were made to systematise the vedic knowledge and religion and put into a nut-shell. These attempts were made during the period, called the Sūtra-period. During that period, Śrauta, Grhya, Dharma and other Sūtras were composed, because that was the easiest way to remember the rules and regulations and the doctrines in the absence of any other way like writing and printing. During this period different schools of philosophy, such as Nyāya, Sāṅkhya etc. were propounded. Of these schools, the Uttara-Mimāṃsā is the most important school, known as Vedānta. In it, we find an attempt to summarize and systematize the teachings of the principal oldest (eleven or thirteen) Ups. Uttara-Mimāṃsā is also known as Vyāsa-Sūtra also, but the popular name is ^{the} Brahma-Sūtra. The date of this period cannot be settled in the absence of any authentic evidence.

It is generally conceded that the period falls between 600 B.C. to 200 A.D.

(iv) The Bhāṣya - period

The Sūtra-period was followed by the Vṛitti and Bhāṣya-period. This period saw attempts to interpret the sūtras as well as formulate systems out of them. A number of writers - Vṛitti-kāras and Bhāṣya-kāras are mentioned in the Madhva-Vijaya-prakāś'ikā of Nāvāyāṇa Paṇḍitācārya and in the Yatindra-mata-dīpikā of S'rīnivāsa.⁹ Out of these, Bodhāyana is well known as Vṛitti-kāra. There are also Upavarṣa (who epitomised Bodhayan's Vṛitti), Brahmanandī (who wrote Vārtikas and is known as Vākya-kāra), Draviḍa (who wrote a Bhāṣya on Brahmanandī's Vārtika), Brahmadatta (known as Tika-kāra and propounder of ज्ञानकर्म समुच्चयवाद and वरन्मायावाद), Bhartr̥ - prapañca (who wrote a bhāṣya on the Vedānta-Sūtras, not available now, and who propounded भेदाभेदवाद and ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवाद), Bhāskarācārya (whose philosophy is known as गौडोपनिषद् भेदाभेदवाद or सत्योपाधिवाद and whose period is circa 800 A.D.), and Yādavaprakāś'a (who flourished in the 11th century and propounded a view similar to that of Bhāskarācārya). They have rendered a great service to the cause of the Vedānta philosophy, but unfortunately all of their works are not available

9, Cf. G.H.Bhatt : Brahma-Sūtra - Anubhāṣya, Chapter one (Gujarati Translation 1945 A.D.) and P.V.Kane's article in the Fifth Oriental Conference Report (P.937-953), titled, Commentators of Brahma-Sūtras.

to-day. The first complete and marvellous Bhāṣya, known as S'ārīraka-Bhāṣya, on the Brahma-Sūtras was by S'ankarācārya (788 - 820 A.D.). His doctrine is known as Kevalā-dvaitā and also as Vivartā-vāda or Māyā-Vāda. According to S'ankara, Brahman is the only and ultimate Reality and all the apparent phenomena of this universe is but a Māyā, a mirage. ^{The} soul is the reflection of the Brahman into Māyā. Truth is पारमार्थिक and व्यावहारिक. He does not believe in the soul being a part (ams'a) of Brahman. True knowledge is the means of realization of Brahman.

Rāmānuja (1017 - 1137 AD.) wrote S'ribhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtras, in which he criticised the Vivartā-Vāda of S'ankara. His doctrine is known as Vis'iṣṭādvaita. According to him, ^{The} soul is a part of Brahman, but after realisation, The soul does not merge in the Brahman. The soul does not lose its individuality, but maintains its separate individuality. Rāmānuja maintains identity between ~~ak~~ cit and acit and says that the Brahman is cid-acid-vis'iṣṭa.

Nimbārka (circa 1200 A.D.) wrote a Bhāṣya called Vedānta - pārijāta, on the Brahma-Sūtras, and propounded what is called dvaita-advaita-vāda or bhedābheda-vāda. Bhāskara's doctrine is sopādhika bhedābheda, while Nimbārka's doctrine is real bhedābheda. According to him, there are three elements - cit, acit and Brahman. The first ^{two} are in a way, one with Brahman,

but differ from Brahman, because they have no ānandāms'a and cid-ams'a fully developed in them. Hence the doctrine is called dvaitādvaita-vāda

Madhvācārya (1197 - 1276 A.D.) wrote a Bhāṣya, called Purnaprajña-Bhāṣya or anā-bhāṣya, on the Brahma-Sūtras, and propounded the doctrine of duality (dvaita-vāda). He is the first bold philosopher to say that the soul, the world and God are not identical, but quite different from one another. He showed duality between God and the Soul, God and the World, the soul and the world, one soul and another soul and also different forms of the world.

These three Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas vehemently criticise S'ankara's doctrine, consider the world as real and the Brahman as the Highest Reality, and preach Bhakti i.e. Bhagavat-prapatti, (of course, combined with knowledge,) to be the means of realisation.

S'ripati pandita (1160 A.D.) is said to have written S'rikara-Bhāṣya, S'rikanṭha is said to have written a commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras and Vijñānendra-bhikṣa has written Vijñānāmṛta on the Brahma-Sūtras, but their doctrines have not become so well known. Caitanya did not write any philosophical work, but preached bhakti. The followers of his school believe in scintya-bhedābheda-vāda. After the passing away of Caitanya, Baladeva-Vidyābhūṣaṇa wrote Govinda - Bhāṣya and gave a philosophical system to the Caitanya Sampradāya.

Vallabha (VL) wrote Anu-bhāṣya and probably Brhad-bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtras and propounded the doctrine of S'uddhādvaita, pure monism. It is one of the principal schools of Vedānta and is important as it surveys all other previous doctrines and established its doctrine after refuting other views.

(v) The term S'uddhādvaita

The term S'uddhādvaita is explained in two ways¹⁰.

The term is a कर्मधारय compound, i.e. it is to be dissolved as शुद्धं च तद् अद्वैतम्, i.e. one and only element Brahman is quite pure, untouched by māyā and it is both cause and effect. The term is also a षष्ठी तत्पुरुष compound, i.e. it is to be dissolved as शुद्धयोः अद्वैतम्, i.e. oneness of (or absence of duality between) Brahman and the world¹¹. This philosophy is also called Brahmapāda or S'uddhādvaita Brahmapāda, because it recognises^{only} Brahman, (and no other entity,) which manifests itself into this diverse universe.¹²

१०। शुद्धाद्वैतपदे ज्ञेयः समासः कर्मधारयः। अद्वैतं शुद्धयोः प्रारुः षष्ठीतत्पुरुषं बुधाः॥
मायासंबंधरहितं शुद्धमित्युच्यते बुधैः। कार्यकारणरूपं हि शुद्धं हि ब्रह्म न मायिकम्॥

— S'ri Giridharajī's S'uddhādvaita Mārtanda, st. 27, 28.

११। अनन्यत्व अधिकरणः। — AnBL 2-1-14, 15, 16.

१२। आत्मैव तदिदं सर्वं सुज्यते सुजति प्रभुः।

प्रापते प्राति विश्वत्मा द्विपते हरतीश्वरः॥

आत्मैव तदिदं सर्वं ब्रह्मैव तदिदं तथा।

इति श्रुत्यर्थमादाय साध्यं सर्वैर्यथाप्रति।

अयमेव ब्रह्मवादः शिष्टं मोहाय कल्पितम्॥ — TDN II - 183, 184.

(vi) Vallabha's life and works

As stated above, the propounder of pure monism is VL. According to the belief of the Sampradāya, he is the incarnation of god's face. It is said that God promised to take birth in the family of the Bhaṭṭas of Telāṅgānā i.e. Andhra, when 100 Soma-yāgas were over. VL's father Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa completed the number, by performing 5 Soma-yāgas.

There are two views about his birth date. The most popular view is that he was born in 1535 V.S. (C.1479 A.D.) on the 11th day of the dark half of Vais'ākha, (Caitra, according to Gujarati Calendar). Another view, which is corroborated by the Caitanya - school, is that he was born in 1529 V.S. The earliest reference to this view is found in the Kallola of Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa.

His fore-fathers lived in a small village, called Kāṅkarvāra, in Andhra, and belonged to Taittirīya branch of ^{the} Black Yajurveda, and to the Bhāradvāja Gotra. The Bhaṭṭas, viz. Yajña Nārāyaṇa, Gaṅgādhara, Gaṇapati, Vallabha and Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, performed 100 Soma-Yāgas in all and it is said that when Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa completed the 100th Soma-Yāga, VL. was born.

His father stayed at Banaras when VL was five years old. He was sent to Mādhavendra Puri of Madhva school for study. After 1½ years, Mādhavendra went to vraja region and so VL learnt, from Mādhava Tīrtha, the

philosophical systems of the day. When Lakṣmana Bhaṭṭa came to Vijaynagar, VL stayed at the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra and learnt fully well both the Mīmāṃsās. It is said that he came to be known as a learned philosopher by then, and wrote Tattvārtha-dīpa-nībandha at a young age.

His father started for a pilgrimage in 1545 V.S. and died in 1546 at Lakṣmana Bālājī. VL's elder brother had become an ascetic and so he had to bear the burden of the family.

After some time, with the consent of his uncle Janārdana, he started for a pilgrimage in North India. During this pilgrimage, he initiated Dāmodardāsa Harasāni and Kṛṣṇadāsa Meghana and accepted them as his disciples, who always accompanied him at all places. When he was travelling in Zarakhandā, he experienced some mystic call for going to vṛja and having a dars'ana of S'rī Nāthajī. He went to Gokula, where, on the 11th day of the bright half of S'rēvaṇa (1548 V.S.)¹³, he had a vision of S'rī Nāthajī who taught him the Gādyā-Mantra and asked him to initiate divine souls with the mantra¹⁴ and teach them the mode of worship. Here he heard of the event of

~~14. Cf. Siddhānta Rahasya~~

13. Cf. Nija Vartā No.5, where the year is given as 1549 V.S. and also¹⁴ 84 Vartās: P.12 (Edition by Dvarkadas Parikh).

14. Cf. Siddhānta Rahasya.

the manifestation of S'ri Govardhana-nāthajī on the mount ^lgirirāja (near ^lJatipur) and he went there. He knew the whole event in details from Sadu Pānde of a small village Anyon,¹⁵ and experienced a similar divine call as he had ~~experienced-a-similar~~ heard in Zarakhanda. He stayed for some days there and worshipped the Lord S'ri Nāthajī.

He travelled in India thrice. He ~~went to~~ started from Vraja-region in 1549 V.S., went to Vidyanagar in Utkal, defeated ^{the} Pandits in the assembly of the learned and established his doctrine. He went to Puri, Śetubandha and other sacred places and read the Bhāgavata at many places and ultimately came to ^lgirirāja and celebrated the anna-kūṭa festival there. Then he went to Badrikā-S'rama and returned to his native place, ^{via} through Gujarat.

After staying for one year with his mother and uncle, he started for the second pilgrimage, with his mother. He went to Vraja and found that the temple of S'ri Nāthajī was destroyed by ^{the} Muslims. He got another temple prepared and instituted S'ri Nāthajī again in the new temple. During this pilgrimage Sikandar Lodi came to know of VL's greatness and got his portrait (with three

15. Cf. Kalyāṇa-Bhatt's Kallola I-4-st.19 to 25

disciples) prepared by the painter Honahāra, which is still found in Kishangarh. It is said that when he went to Pandharpur, God Vithobā asked him to marry, so that He could take birth as his (VL's) son.¹⁶ Then in 1560 V.S. he married Mahālakṣmi, the daughter of Davan Bhatt¹⁷ of Kāshi. During his further journey, he came to Vijaynagar, where Kṛiṣṇa Deva (who ruled during the period 1509-1529 A.D.¹⁸) invited him for S'astrārtha, going on in his court. He defeated all other Pandits and was honoured as an Ācārya. This incident is known as Kanakābhiseka. This incident took place in 1561 V. S. according to some and 1569 V.S. according to others, when VL was moving on the third pilgrimage.

He came in conflict with many scholars in Puri and he composed the verse एकं शास्त्रं देवकीपुत्र गीतं¹⁹ and put it in the temple of Jagannātha to get his consent. It is reported that Lord Jagannātha showed his consent to the verse written by VL and all the pandits were made silent. Similarly, he defeated his opponents by Patrāvalambana in Kashi.

16. Cf. Second Vallabhākyana of Gopāldas

17. Cf. Kallola I - 4 - 39, 40

18. Cf. Ishwariprasad : - History of Medieval India,

P.564 foot note No.127

19. Cf. T.D.N. I-4.

In 1566 or 1567 V.S. he made a permanent residence at Adel near Allahabad . During his travels he wrote some works, but it was mostly at Adel that he wrote his important works, such as the *Mīmāṃsā Bhāṣya*, *Subodhinī* , etc. During his pilgrimages, he read the *Bhāgavata* at some places and these places are known as the 84 seats (*bethakas*).

He had two sons *Gopinātha* (birth 1567 or 1570 V.S.) and *Vitthalanātha* (birth 1572 V.S.). It is said that he had divine calls²⁰ to leave this mortal world. In 1587 V.S. he went to Kashi and became a *Sannyāsi*. Once he called his sons, gave them the best massage known as *S'ikṣā-S'loka*s, and plunged in the waters of the Ganges. People saw a brilliant flash rising high into the sky. It is reported that Lord *Kṛṣṇa* himself appeared there and added 1½ stanzas to the 3½ stanzas of VL and completed the *S'ikṣā-S'loka*s.

There is no unanimity of opinion as regards the number of works of VL. No one has given full list of his works²¹. The *Yadunāth-digvijaya* notes that VL

20. Cf. *Antahkarana - Prabodha* of VL

21. Cf. S.N.Dasgupta: *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol.IV. He has not mentioned all available works of VL and has even wrongly mentioned some works, e.g. *Sarvottam-Stotra* and *Tippaṇī* are ascribed to him.

has written 84 works.²² But the number of his ~~xxx~~ available works is smaller than that. It is possible that the mystic number was attached to his (VL's) works on account of his greatness, without any respect • for the correct figure of his works. At present the following works are ascribed to him :

अणुभाष्य	पूर्वमीमांसा कारिका
बृहद्भाष्य	पूर्वमीमांसा भाष्य
तत्त्वार्थदीप-सप्रकाश	श्रुतिगीता
अमवत्पीलिका	श्रुतिसार
सुबोधिनी	दशमस्कंधानुक्रमणिका
सूक्ष्मटिका	मधुराष्टक
षोडश ग्रन्थाः	परिवृष्टाष्टक
पुरुषोत्तमनामसहस्रस्तोत्र	गिरिराजधार्यष्टक
शिक्षाश्लोकाः	श्रीकृष्णाष्टक
सुदर्शन	गोपीजनवल्लभाष्टक
गायत्रीभाष्य	
त्रिविधनामावली	
पत्रावलंबन	

Dr. Dasgupta²³ ascribes to VL., आचार्यकारिका, भानंदाधिकरण, वार्ता, एकान्तरहस्य, पद्य, and परित्याग but nowhere in Sāmpradāyic literature, these works are found noted. प्रतिबोध is noted to be the work of VL by

22. Cf. चतुरशीति तद्ग्रंथाः ।

-Quoted by H. Tandan:
Vārtā Sāhitya, P.120

23. Cf. History of Indian Philosophy Vol.IV, P. ~~xxx~~ 373

S'ri Vasanthram Shastri²⁴. In an old monthly, titled
 वैष्णववैभव, ²⁵, व्यासविरोधलक्षण, चित्तिप्रबोध, वेदवत्सल,
 निबंधस्यैकादशस्कंधकारिका, श्रीकृष्णप्रेमामृत, पंचश्लोकी -- -

-- -- -- are mentioned as VL's works. Similarly
 - पुष्टिभक्तिसुधा²⁶ mentions, among others, शरणागतआर्या
 लौकिकालौकिकभेद and आत्मनिवेदन पद्धति as VL's works,
 on the strength of an old MS.

All of the above-mentioned works are not
 available to-day, and we have no authentic proof to
 decide the veracity of their authorship. The most
 important of these works are the Anu-bhāṣya, the Nibandha,
 the Sixteen Treatises and the Subodhini.

The study of the works of VL reveals that he
 was a great philosopher, an original thinker and an
 inspiring religious preacher. In his system of philosophy,
 he has shown oneness of the soul, the world and God,
 and has well interpreted the vast phenomenon of the
 universe. He has indicated the true purpose of life and
 the path to realization, i.e. supreme bliss, the
 summum bonum of life.

(viii) Vallabha's Philosophy

VL's philosophy is, in short, as follows :

His philosophy attempts to show the true nature
 of the soul, the objective universe and the universal power

24. Cf. Anugraha Vol. 17-10 (October 1954), P.3.

25. Cf. Part I No.10-11, (1981 V.S.)

26. Cf. Vol. II - No.11.

i.e. Brahman which controls the whole sentient and non-sentient world, and also their relation. VL treats this subject in his Anu-bhāṣya and ^{the} Nibandha.

According to VL, soul is atomic, but pervading (Vyāpaka) and a part of Brahman (just as a spark is of Agni). When Brahman desired to manifest Himself and sport, He created the souls. Brahman has three attributes sat, cit and ānanda. Souls are made of the same stuff as Brahman, but they differ from Brahman in degrees. Souls have the attribute of ^{bliss} ānanda, unmanifest or suppressed in it, and therefore, they do not experience bliss. They are eternal, jñātā and sentient. They have the capacity to do actions and have to experience fruits of those actions. They are not the reflection (pratibimba) or the appearance (ābhāsa) ^{of anything,} but have true existence. They are one or identical with Brahman by the relation of part and a whole (ams'amsi).²⁷

According to VL, the manifest universe is not non-being or non-existent (mithyā). It is as true as the souls and not māyā. S'rutis like, सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म, यतो वा इमानि भू-भूतानि जायन्ते, etc. state that the universe is not different from Brahman. The non-sentient world has the चिदंश and आनंदांश unmanifest. VL has severely

27. Cf. TDN Chap. I., St. 28-30, 54, 55 and 57.

criticised the S'ankara School on this point. He was bold enough to say that the apparent non-sentient world is nothing but Brahman Himself²⁸. Modern research in Neuclear Physics has proved that atoms in an element always move and some Indian Scientists have shown that synthetic products evince attributes of life.²⁹

VL gives an original interpretation of what is untrue in the world. He shows that what is untrue is संसार and not the जगत्, which is ब्रह्मस्वरूप. He shows a clear distinction between संसार and जगत्. जगत् is the effect of the cause, which is Brahman, Brahman is Truth and therefore the effect

28. Cf. ~~the~~ प्रपंची भगवत्कार्यः तद्रूपो मायया भवत् । - ibid St.23

29. Cf. Vide in this connection a new item in the Times of India, dated 24.4.'63. The scientists, Dr.Krishna Bahadur ..(etc.).. found that animo-acids formed from simple gaseous mixtures in the presence of sunlight continued their chemical activities, forming peptides and proteins, from which evolved eel-like structures having some attributes of life.

In this connection, an article, "Where did we come from?" by Bryant Evans, in the Times of India, dated 20.11.'63, is worth reading.

This shows that the apparent non-sentient things have sentiency unmanifest in them.

must be true. संसार is the effect of ne-science of the soul. The soul forgets its true form and nature and cultivates untrue relations between soul and soul, on account of its avidyā, its ego and sense of mine-ness.

संसार is thus महताममतात्मक . When the soul realises its true form and nature, ego and mine-ness are destroyed and hence the संसार , too, gets destroyed but the jagat remains as it is. So, we find that when a person becomes jīvan-mukta, no worldly event touches him and he remains like a lotus-leaf in water, and the world goes on with its own affairs. To him, the jagat becomes भगवत्स्वरूप and its affairs appear as भगवत्लीला, the sport of the Almighty.

Brahman is Almighty, absolute, eternal, changeless, all-pervading, omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent and self-satisfied (apta-kāma or pūrṇa-kāma). It is nirākāra as well as sākāra . It is rasākāra or ānandākāra, and has no physical attributes and body. It is nirguṇa because He has no mundane qualities. He is saguṇa because He has divine, superhuman qualities.³⁰ His attributes are endless (anīyata-dharma). He is of the form of sat, cit and ānanda³¹. So VL describes Brahman as having contradictory

30. Cf. प्रमेयं हरिरेवैकः सगुणो निर्गुणश्च सः ।- TDN.II.84.

31. Cf. सच्चिदानंदरूपं तु ब्रह्मव्यापकमव्ययम् । सर्वशक्तिः सर्वतन्त्रं च सर्वज्ञं गुणवर्जितम् ।- TDN.I.65.

attributes³². This is not baseless. VL derives this attribute of Brahman from apporisms like - -
 उभयव्यपदेशात् त्वहिकुंडलवद् - ³³ and आत्मनि त- चैव
 विचित्राश्च हि - ³⁴ and S'rutis like एकं
 रूपं बहुधा यः करोति ³⁵ and अणोरणीजान् महती
 महीयान् ³⁶ and आसीनो दूरं व्रजति शयानो -
 याति सर्वतः ।³⁷

Brahman creates the universe with all its diversity and variety out of himself. The S'ruti says that स रंतुमिच्छत्, स एकाकी न रमते एकोऽहं बहु स्याम् प्रजायेयेति । - ³⁸. So, He is both the instrumental and material cause of the universe.³⁹ But He

32. Cf. विरुद्धसर्वधर्माणि नामाश्रयम् । - - - - - TDN . I-71.

विरुद्धोभयधर्माश्रयत्वाद् भगवतो मयिमा । - Sub.2-6-17.

विरुद्धसर्वधर्माश्रयत्वं ब्रह्मणो भूषणाय । - AnBh.1-1-3.

33. Cf. Vide Brahmasūtra , 3-2-27.

34. Cf. Ibid , 2-1-28.

35. Cf. Vide Katha , II-5-12.

36. Cf. Ibid , I-2-20.

37. Cf. Ibid , I-2-21.

38. TU - 2-6-1, Chāndogya, 6-2-3, Brhadāranyaka, 1-4-3 .

39. Cf. जगतः समवायि स्यात् तदेव च निमित्तकम् । - TDN, I-68.

is not affected by the diversity of the universe. It is only His sport.⁴⁰ After creating the universe for His sport, Brahman does not undergo any change, just as a spider weaves a web out of its mouth but does not undergo any change. So, VL's theory of causation is called अविकृतपरिणामवाद, as against the विवर्तवाद of S'ankara. The relation between Brahman and the universe is true and the effect i.e. the universe is true. Hence, both सत्कारणवाद and सत्कार्यवाद - are accepted in the philosophy of VL. VL does not believe in the theory of new creation (उत्पत्तिवाद) but believes in the theory of self-manifestation and self-concealment

40. Cf. लोकोक्तं लीलाकवित्वम् । - BS- 2-1-33. The Modern seer Shri Aurobindo, too, believes in this theory:

" अरविंदके अनुसार पुरमत्तत्त्व सत्चित्तु आनंद ब्रह्म है । - - - विशुद्ध सत् ही मूल तत्त्व है, किन्तु गति, शक्तिप्रक्रिया वगैरे भी उतनी ही मौलिक और उतनी ही सत्य है । सत् और प्रक्रिया, दोनोंका स्वीकार करना आवश्यक है । - - - ब्रह्म निर्गुण और सगुण, एक और अनेक, स्थाणु और गतिशील सभी कुछ है । अरविंद कहते हैं, जगत्की सत्ता शिवका आनंदनृत्य है, वह उस अवदात सत् की जैसा का तैसा जहां का तहां, उसका एकमात्र और निरपेक्ष लक्ष्य केवल नृत्यका आनंद है । - हिंदी साहित्य कोश पृ० ५० ।

(आविर्भावतिरोभाववाद)⁴¹ Māyā is a power of Brahman.⁴² The whole universe is nothing but Brahman with some attributes and qualities manifest and some concealed. For example, the trees, grass and other static things are Brahman, with cit and ānanda concealed in them. The soul has ānanda concealed in it. As long as, the soul is संसारी, ब्रह्मत्व is unmanifest in it. By the powers of āvirbhāva and tirobhāva, Brahman goes on sporting. The gigantic universe is explained by this theory in the S'uddhādvaita Philosophy.

Brahman has three forms: आधिदैविक, आध्यात्मिक and आधिभौतिक. The first form is Lord Kṛṣṇa, Puruṣottama, the Pūrṇānanda,⁴³ and can be attained by his grace. The second is Akṣara-Brahman, and can be attained by true knowledge. The third is the jagat, the world of human experience. The second form has all the qualities of the Puruṣottama, minus some bliss. It is, in a way, lower Brahman which acts and becomes manifest in the form of conscious and unconscious universe. There is also another form of para-brahman, called antaryāmin. Akṣara

41. Cf. आविर्भाव तिरो भावः मोहनं बहुरूपतः । - TDN, I-72

आविर्भावतिरोभावा शक्ति वै मुरवेरिणः । - TDN, II-140

42. Cf. चम भगवतो ज्ञानरूपस्य वशवर्तिनी काचिच्छक्तिमयिति, Sub-2-5-12.

43. Cf. कृष्णिर्भावाचकः शब्दो णश्च निर्वृतिवाचकः - - - इति
सदानंदः कृष्ण उक्तः । - Sub-10-1-12.

creates jada and jīva and antaryāmin accompanies each soul and becomes witness. Like Aksara Brahman, it has some bliss concealed. Each soul has, therefore, a capacity to experience bliss. The first अविदेविक form remains पूर्णकाम and all bliss, but when there is a desire to sport, He becomes Aksara Brahman, but He remains greater than Aksara Brahman.⁴⁴

VL has accepted the traditional प्रस्थानत्रयी as the means of proof (pramāṇas) for establishing his philosophy. He accepts their authority in their literal sense, for "our reason cannot protest against its dictates"⁴⁵ He has proved in his Anu-bhāṣya and TDN, the identity of of view in the trio. But, at the same time, he accepts one more pramāṇa, viz., [†] Bhagavata and therefore in the Ś'uddhādvaita philosophy प्रस्थानत्रयतुष्टयी is considered to be the pramāṇa,⁴⁶ and the later is to be taken as more prevailing than the former⁴⁷. He accepts the usefulness

44. Cf. Gita XV-18; Harivamśa - Bhaviṣya Parva 17-65 and 10-69 (Gita Press edition); and TDN-II-94 and also Siddhānta-muktāvali.

45. Cf. S.Radhakrishnan: Indian Philosophy Vol.II.P.756.

also वेदश्च परमाप्तौ अक्षरमात्रमप्यन्यथा न वदति। - अणुभाष्य -१-१-२

46. Cf. वेदाः श्रीकृष्णवाक्यानि व्याससूत्राणि चैव वि।

समाधि भाषा व्यासस्य प्रमाणं तच्चतुष्टयम् । - - TDN-I-7

47. Cf. उत्तरं पूर्वसदेहवाङ्कं परिकीर्तितम् । - - - TDN-I-8

of the smṛtis, epics, purāṇas, etc. inasmuch as they help the devotee in his path of devotion.⁴⁸

The soul, as stated above, has bliss latent in it and therefore it experiences misery in life. It is circumscribed by the five-fold avidyā, which can be destroyed by the five-fold vidyā and gets emancipated. The sole aim of life is, therefore, to know the nature of one's true being, i.e. to attain salvation. That can be done only by the grace of God.⁴⁹ Bhakti⁵⁰ is the only means to please God. According to VL, Bhakti is different from upāsana. The latter has predominance of rules and regulations, while the former has selfless love predominant in it,⁵¹ and rules and rituals have no importance. VL has accepted the nine types of bhakti in his system, but they are taken as sādhana-bhaktis. प्रेमलक्षणम् is the sādhyā-bhakti.⁵² It has three stages:

प्रेम (love), आसक्ति (Complete attachment to the Lord) and व्यसन (intense passion - the stage of forgetting mundane existence and seeing the Lord everywhere).⁵³ In

48. Vide Sub. 10-26-33 and TDN-51 & 56 & 83.

49. Cf. यमेवैषे गुणुते तेन लभ्यः - - - - - Katha 1-2-33 & Mūṇḍaka 3-2-3.

50. Cf. भक्तिश्च प्रेमपूर्विका सेवा । - - - - - Sub 3-29-12.

51. Cf. माहात्म्यज्ञानं पूर्वस्तु सुदृढः सर्वतोऽधिकः ।

स्नेहो भक्तिरिति प्रोक्तः तथा मुक्तिः न चान्यथा ॥

TDN-I-42.

52. Cf. TDN - II - 220 and 226

53. व्यावृत्तोऽपि हरौ चितं श्रवणादी यतेत् सदा ।

ततः प्रेम तथासक्तिर्व्यसनं च सदा भवेत् ॥ - BhV st. 3.

this case, ^{the} Gopis are to be followed as an example. Those who have knowledge in predominance, reach the Akṣara-brahman and those who have bhakti i.e. pure love for the Lord, are qualified to be partners in the divine sport, in the company of Para-brahman S'rī Kṛṣṇa. Highest mukti, according to this doctrine, is not complete absorption into Brahman, but it is सायुज्यमेव with Kṛṣṇa⁵⁴ Sevā, then, turns to be the sādhyā itself.⁵⁵ In spite of the efforts of the soul, the highest goal can be achieved only by the grace of the Lord, even knowledge can be had only by His grace,⁵⁶ hence this sect is called Pūṣṭimārga i.e. कृपामार्गः.

According to VI there are three categories of souls: Pūṣṭi, Maryādā and Pravāhi,⁵⁷ which can be interpreted as the three stages of development in the path of realization. There are sub-categories also, in accordance with the degrees of bhakti, jñāna and karma of the souls.

54. Cf. सर्वत्यागिन्यथावे कृष्णमात्रिकमानसः।

सायुज्यं कृष्णदेवेन शीघ्रमेव पुत्रं फलम् ॥ - - - - TDN-II-218.

55. Cf. पुष्टिमार्गः स एव यत्र फलं स्वयमेव सार्धनमित्यसकृदुक्तमाचार्यैः।

- हरिरायजी कृत - ब्रह्मवादे - - - (K.S.S.No.61) P.19.

56. Cf. भगवतो हि ज्ञानं गदितमपि कृपाव्यतिरेकेण न प्राप्यते Sub-2-9-30.

57. Cf. Vide पुष्टिप्रवार मयविमिश्रितः।

Every religion has three aspects: philosophical theological and ethical. Of course, religion and philosophy and ethics are inseparable in India, but it may be said that AnBh and TDN represent the philosophy of S'uddhādvaita Puṣṭi-mārga, TDN and Patrāvalambana and Subodhinī represent its theology and TDN (Chap.2) and some of the Sixteen Treatises represent its ethics. VL wrote AnBh in order to show that the doctrine of Puṣṭimārga is Vedic, but he asked his disciples to read mainly the Bhāgavata and serve the Lord with profound and pure love. The world (Samsāra) leads the soul to commit sins and hence it should do all activities with a sense of dedication (samarpana-bhāvenā). For that purpose, VL consecrated his disciples with the divine incantation, called gadya-matra and ushered them in the path of Puṣṭi-sevā. The disciples are asked to cultivate attitude of dīnatā and ananyās'raya and to enjoy food and drink after they were offered to the Lord. (i.e.) to observe the vow of asamarpita-tyāga). They are asked to bear all calamities with patience⁵⁸, thinking that it is also the sport of the Lord.⁵⁹ VL asks his followers to act with the spirit of, what we, in modern times, call, a trustee.

58. Cf. त्रिदुःखसहनं धैर्यम् - - विवेकधर्मश्चि - - St-6.

59, Cf. तथैव तस्य लीलेति मत्वा चितां द्रुतं त्यजेत् ॥-नवरत्न

VL says that sevā is of three types: tanujā, vitkajā and mānesī, out of which the third is the ideal one. From another point of view, sevā is of two types: svarūpa-sevā (worship of the Lord) and nāma-sevā (reading the scriptures). He attached importance to both of them. VL led a very simple and unassuming life, devoting most of his time to sevā, smarana and chintana and set an example for his disciples.

It is said that VL appeared in the hierarchy of Viṣṇusvāmin. Nābhāji, author of Bhakta-māla, mentions VL as the follower of Viṣṇusvāmin.⁶⁰ In the sampradāya, there are two views: one view holds that VL follows the doctrine of Viṣṇusvāmin.⁶¹ Another view holds that, VL has no connection with Viṣṇusvāmin.⁶² I infer that

60. Vide Parquhar: Religions Literature, P.317.

61. Vide (i) पुष्टिभक्तिसुधा वर्ष - २ - १०, पृ० १५३ : बलभद्रसर्मा -

पुष्टिमागमि आचार्य परंपरा । । गदाधरकृते संप्रदाय प्रदीपे:

श्रीवल्लभप्रोक्त-विष्णुस्वामीसंप्रदाये - पृ० १०३ (कांकरोली प्रकाशन सं० १९९२)

(iii) Bethak - Nigā-vartā Prasanga 4 (L.C.Desai's edition)

(iv) Bethak - Charitra No.36, 49, - Pp.189, 200, 231, 232

(L.C.Desai's edition) (v) C.M.Vaidya's Life of Gattutālji (Guj. Ed. 1956 A.D.) Chap.36 where Purusottamji is quoted.

62. Vide (i) निर्भयराम भट्ट : अधिकरण संग्रह । । विष्णुस्वामी संप्रदायके बिल्वमंगल आप- निबन्धात् No.4 (L.C.Desai's edition)

in the family of VL, Gopālopāsana propounded by Viṣṇusvāmin was followed and he might have been the traditional guru. Therefore, VL might have been placed in the hierarchy of Viṣṇusvāmin and he might have mentioned himself as his follower.⁶³ But it is possible that later, most probably after the divine vision in 1548 or 1549 V.S., he might have ceased to mention himself as विष्णुस्वामीमतानुवर्ती, - otherwise how can he be called पुण्यक्षरणमार्गीपदेष्टा ? - Again, he himself says that his doctrine is different from Viṣṇusvāmin : शास्त्रं पुरस्कृत्य त्रिविधो भक्तियोगः उक्तः। ते च सांप्रतं विष्णुस्वाम्यनुसारिणः तत्त्ववादिनः रामानुजास्वेति तमोरप्रःसत्त्वैर्भिन्नाः । अस्मत्प्रतिपादितः - निर्गुण्यः ।⁶⁴..... In this connection, what Dr. H.V. Glasenapp says, is quite right:

"A final decision of the question may be anticipated when there will be a definite progress in our knowledge about the doctrines and the sect of Viṣṇusvāmin.⁶⁵"

63. Cf. श्री वेदव्यास विष्णुस्वामीमतानुवर्त्यः श्री बल्लभाचार्यः

मयादानुगामिना बल्लभेन अवन्तिकायां नरोत्तम शर्मापीरोहित्येन

संमाननीयः। - सं० १५४६ चैत्र शुक्ल प्रतिपदि । - -

quoted by H. Tanden in his Vārtā-Sāhitya, P.144-145.

64. Vide Sub. . 3-32-37.

65. Glasenapp: Doctrines of VL, P.108.

(viii) S'ri Viṭṭhalanāthajī alias Gosāijī

VL's first son Gopināthajī passed away in young age.⁶⁶ So, his second son, Viṭṭhalanāthajī, who proved to be an illustrious one, had to carry the burden of the sect and he did it ably and well. He lived a long life of 90 years and became the main cause of the spread of ^{the} Pustimārga. He travelled to Gujarat six times during his life time, and initiated many people into the Pustimārga. He had to move from Adel to Gadha on account of Akbar's military activities, from Gadha to Mathura and other places and ultimately he settled at Gokul in 1628 V.S. He was a worthy son of a worthy father, a great scholar, ^{and} administrator and ^{propagated} ~~propagator~~ of religion, ^{with} ~~having~~ true missionary spirit. He had to face the challenge of the age on two fronts: philosophical on the one hand and practical and social on the other. He proved equal to the task. He finished the AnBh (from Sūtra 3-2-34), left unfinished by his father VL and wrote Vidvan-mandana to prove the correctness and rightness of the doctrine of pure monism.

66. Gopināthajī is said to have written

सेवाविधि, साधनदीपिका, नामनिरूपणसंज्ञा and वल्लभाष्टक, which are not identified to-day.

His other works⁶⁷ are as follows:

सुबोधिनी - टिप्पणी

भक्तिबंध

भक्तिहेतु - भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय

Tikas on some of the sixteen treatises,
several stotras such as सर्वोत्तम, स्वाभिन्यष्टक,
गुप्तरस, ललितत्रिभंग, वल्लभाष्टक,
शृंगार रसमंडन (including रससर्वश्व or व्रतचर्या
and दानलीला),

उत्सवनिर्णय

विज्ञप्ति

आर्या

गीतागीविंदटीका

न्यासादेश विवरण

गायत्र्यर्थ कारिका

वृत्रासुरचतुःश्लोकी विवृति

चौरचर्या

चौरस्वरूपनामलीला

गीतातात्पर्य

स्फुरत्कृष्ण प्रेमाभूत

अष्टाक्षरनिरूपण

अष्टाक्षर मुक्ति तारतम्य निर्णय

षट्पदी

प्रबोध

67. Vide बृहत्स्तोत्र सरित्सागर (BSSS) and the periodical
वेष्णवविषय - - - - (Vol. II - 5,6). There is no
unanimity of opinion about the number of the works of
VL.

VL propounded the doctrine and indicated a way of religion, viz. Sevāmārga. His son VT raised a grand structure of religion on the foundation laid by his father. He expanded the sevā-prakāra (aṣṭa-dars'anas etc.) employed different fine arts in the Bhagvat-sevā, started celebrating different festivals in the temples, for उत्सवप्रियाः बहु मनुष्याः ।⁶⁸ He preached a detailed way of sevā, which can be done with pleasure by all the ~~house~~ house-holders. Like his father, VT, too, did not adopt the path of renunciation, but led the life of a house-holder and set an example of an ideal devotee of the Lord.

(ix) The Age of VL and spread of ^{the} Pūsti-mārga

The type of bhakti, preached by VL and VT proved to be very popular. The age demanded a new approach to and a new way of life. After the Muslims vanquished the Hindu Kings and established an empire in India, and persecuted the natives, the whole nation was politically lost and drowned in pessimism. Hindu culture received a fatal blow and feared disintegration and extinction. Religious practices could not be performed with peace and pleasures and social duties could not ~~smoothly~~ be carried out smoothly. Tirthas

68. Kalidasa's S'akuntala, Act VI-4-12.

and temples were polluted and destroyed. Religions preachings were hindered.⁶⁹ There was a social chaos. Economy of the Hindus was disrupted. Crops were destroyed and villages were looted by the armies. Posts of Political influence and economic benefit were snatched away from the Hindus. It was during the reign of Akbar that justice was done to the Hindus.

Place, time, money, mantra, karma and kartā - these six are required for Vedic rituals and they were not available in purity. The vajra-yāna sect was reduced to vāmamārga. The Nāthas and the Siddhas went on their own secluded way and could not inspire the Hindu Community. On the other hand, social connections of the Muslims, absence of any high and low castes in their society, new monotheism and equality of all as regards the religious practices, etc. stood as a challenge to the Hindu society. Moreover, the sufis, brought in India a new religion of pure love. The Hindus stood agast and agape before that powerful new current of Islam.

VL flourished during the turbulent times of the Lodis, when the Hindu society stood in a fearful and disintegrated mood.⁷⁰ The path of bhakti was there,

69. Vide Kṛṣṇā's'rayā of VL and also TDN - II-211-213.

70. Vide Kavi Nānālal, Quoted on P.17 in the preface of Mahāprabhu - Stuti - muktāvali - I (ed.1940).

running throughout the ages. VL, in these times, preached a new way of bhakti, viz. ^{the} Pustimārga, in which complete dedication and surrender was to be made and all anxieties were to be left to the Almighty. He declared:

सर्वमार्गेषु नष्टेषु क्ली च खलधर्मिणि ।

पाषाण्ड - चचुरे लोके कृष्ण एव गतिर्मम ॥⁷⁰

People found a great solace in कृष्ण एव गतिर्मम । VL preached that the Lord knew what was right or wrong for the soul, He was the master, and the soul, only a servant (dāsa). The soul had to dedicate to Him whatever it did. VL stated that the world was but a sport of the Almighty and the souls were the actors, the instruments only, for which they should not be sorry; their only duty was to serve the Director of the stage,

~~70, Vide Kavi Nahnalal, quoted on P.17 in preface of Mahāprabhu - stuti - muktāvali - I (ed. 1940).~~

71. Eṣṣhṇās'raya St. 1. Cf. also

माहात्म्यज्ञानं दुर्लभमिति तदर्थं प्रयासमकृत्वा, केवलं

भगवते नमनं कर्तव्यम् ।... कृष्ण। तादृशं मां परिपालय । -

Sub 3 - 6 - 40.

to merge their will into God's will.⁷² There was no necessity to renounce the world and search peace in solitude. In the eyes of God, VL said all were equal, whatever be their caste or status in society, and he accepted into ^{the} Puṣṭimārga, all people irrespective of their caste or status or sex. He said that the duties of Varnās'rama might be performed,⁷³ but service (sevā)⁷⁴ the Lord was the supreme duty of the soul. Old Vedic religion did not allow the women and the S'udras to read the Vedas and perform sacrifices. VL did not touch the problem of allowing the women and the S'udras to read the Vedas and perform sacrifices, but instead of that, he said that all, irrespective of their caste or sex, have a right to worship God and attain liberation.⁷⁴

72. The same view appears to be expressed by Shri G.M.Tripathi in Lakṣya-alakṣya-Mīmāṃsā in Sarasvatīchandra, with a change in emphasis and phraseology. Vide V.R. Trivedi's article (गौर्वर्धनरामनौ जीवनतात्त्वविचार) in Buddhiprakāśha Vol.107 - 9, p.290-291:

लक्ष्यरूपमांथी जे स्थूल शरीररत्न धारण कर्युं तेने उत्तमसंस्कारोथी परिपाकवत् सूक्ष्मरूप आपी ज्यांथी उद्भव्युं त्यांज समर्पित करवुं एज तेनो साक्षी अंत छे।

73. Cf. यावद्देहोऽयम् तावद् वर्णाश्रम - धर्माः । - - - - Sub 3-28-2.

74. Cf. किरातादयस्तत्तद्देशगिरिवासिनः अन्त्यजाः जातिनः कार्यतः च दुष्टाः भक्तिसमाश्रयमात्रेण शुद्धाः भवन्ति।

The Brahmins and the S'udras were accepted in the Bhakti-mārga on the same level. In this way, it was a challenge to the Sanātana Hinduism, for it accepted in its fold the downtrodden, the untouchables and even the Muslims. Was it not an attempt, conscious or unconscious, to remove the gulf between the Hindus, both the savarnas and the a-savarnas, and the Muslims? The Puṣṭimārga did not refute the Varnas'rama-Dharma, and did not ask its followers to discard Varna-dharmas, but accepted all people into its fold and preached that Bhakti was the supreme duty of the soul.

This type of attitude ~~for~~ towards life, a new gospel of bhakti, was a novel approach to the problem of the day. VL's Puṣṭimārga gave a new system of worship and people grasped it. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan rightly states, "Philosophy has its roots in man's practical needs. If a system cannot justify fundamental human instincts and interpret the deeper spirit of religion, it cannot meet with general acceptance. The speculations of philosophers, which do not comfort us in our stress and suffering, are meer intellectual diversion and not serious thinking."⁷⁵ VL rightly understood the spirit and instinct of the age and gave a philosophical system, acceptable to all but the prejudiced. Later, VT spread the sect widely in the regions, which are to-day called,

75. Indian Philosophy P. II (ed. 1948), P.659.

Western U.P., Rajasthan and Gujarat;⁷⁶ and made the structure of the sampradāya, deeprooted and steadfast. He taught how to live domestic life and also serve the Lord. He, too, initiated people of different castes high and low, in the religious fold. The age demanded a new outlook forwards and a new purpose ~~an~~ of life, and the way of Bhakti (S'arana - mārga), furnished the answer. VT erected temples at Mathura, Gokul, etc. and gave a detailed mode of worship. This system gave people a personal God, with whom they could have a direct reference and contact. It scattered, to a certain extent, clouds of pessimism and instilled enthusiasm in the hearts of the people. VT was, thus, instrumental in bringing about a kind of renaissance in Hindu society - or rather a section of Hindu society. He, therefore, became very popular with the followers of the Puṣṭimārga,⁷⁷ and was highly respected by the followers of other sects and religions. He travelled to Gujarat six times during his life-time, ^{and} initiated many men and women. When he made

76. Caitanya and Tulsidas did the same thing in Eastern U.P., Bihar, Bengal and parts of Orissa.

77. Some one said in his connection that -

श्री विठ्ठलदीक्षिते राजमाने महीतले । वैकुण्ठमनेच्छा कुंठिता
वैकुण्ठवासिनाम् ॥

Gokul his permanent residence in 1628 V.S., he became very well known in the region of Mathura. Even Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor, was influenced by him to a very great extent. He (i.e. Akbar), sometimes wore the vaishnavite dress and put on the marks and thus showed a liking for the sect. He issued royal firmans⁷⁸ and allowed a free grant of land round about Mahavana to VT alias Gosāijī, for cattle-grazing and no sort of tax was levied on the Gosvami's, and they were allowed to worship the Lord in their own way.

In this connection, Shri Durgashankar Shastri rightly observes: १० मा शतक्या जोरमां आवती विष्णुभक्ति १५मा शतकमां पूरजोरमां अनेक रस्ते उभराती हती..... पण भागवत जेवा पुराणीए, गीतगीविंद जेवां काव्योए के नरसिंह महेस्वा जेवा भक्त कविओए मात्र भक्तिने जगाडी, पण एने चालवा माहे सामान्य लोकीने पण अनुकूल जेवो कीई रस्ती - चीली बताव्यो नहीं। वल्लभाचार्य रस्ती बताव्यो। गुजरातनी बेपारी वस्तीने ए रस्ती कस फावी गयो। वल्लभाचार्यना बखूतमां ज - १६ मा शतकना आरंभमां ज गुजरातमां वल्लभाचार्यने अनेक अनुयायीओ मळ्या हता अने पछी पण बहु झडपयो गुजरातमां वल्लभमत प्रसरी गयो। बीजा वैष्णव मतो झांखा पडोने क्षीण थई गया, अने एकाद शतकमां ज वल्लभमतनुं एवुं जोर थई गयुं के वैष्णवमतनो पर्यार्य ज वल्लभमत मनाव लाग्यो।^{७९}

78. Vide the Imperial Firmans edited by the late Divan Bhandar K.M. Zaveri.

79. Vaisnava Dharma no samksipta Itihase, p. 184.

(x) Bhaktimārga in Old Scriptures

The cult of Bhakti, preached by VL & VT; was not an absolutely new one. Bhāgavata-Dharma is very old. Attitude of devotion is a natural human trait. In the history of religion, it is first noticed in the Varuna hymns of Rgveda. It is also found in some of the UPs., but it is ~~considere~~ only in a small proportion. Gītā, which is considered to be a kind of synopsis of the UPs. and some dars'anas, is pre-eminently a ~~worth~~ work propounding Bhakti. The Mahā-Bhārata, of which Gītā is only a part, is more inclined to the path of Bhakti, than the paths of action and knowledge. In ancient times, the cult of Bhakti was called Sātvata-mārga or the Bhāgavata-Dharma, and Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva was considered to be the Highest Deity. Later, Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa were ~~inder~~ identified. That stage is noticed in the Bhāgavata.⁸⁰ The Bhāgavata, whose date is not conclusively settled, seems to be the great movement of the Bhakti-cult. Particularly, its eleventh book, the aphorisms of Nārada and S'āndīlya became the chief S'āstras for the propagation of the Bhakti-cult. It is difficult to trace the development of the different principles of the Bhakti-cult, but we do find many of the first in the

80. Vide for detailed study, Dr. R.G.Bhandarker's Vaishnavism Shaivism and minor religious systems.

Nārāyaṇīya Parvan, (Chapters 334-347) of the S'ānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata. For example, we find in it, the description of S'veta-dvīpa,⁸¹ the abode of God, which is similar to the Goloka. We find the avikṛta-parinama - vāda propounded in chapter No.339. The four vyūhas, which have been accepted in the Vaiṣṇava schools, are also described in the same chapter. The principles that Bhaktimārga is superior to the jñānamārga⁸² and that attainment of jñāna rests on the grace of God⁸³ are also found in the Mahābhārata. The Bhāgavata speaks of the nine types of bhakti and the resultant parā or prema-lakṣaṇā⁸⁴ bhakti and also of the sādhanā - and sādhyā bhakti.⁸⁵

Thus, the cult of the Bhakti is very old. The Alvars of South India were much responsible for its spread in the age after the Guptas. After S'ānkarācārya, there was a new trait noticed. Lest the cult of Bhakti be called

81. S'ānti-Parvan Chap. 335-336

82. Cf. न स शक्यस्त्वभक्तेन द्रष्टुं देवः कश्चन ।

S'āntiparvan St. 336-53 and also vide St.356-64.

83. Cf. यस्य प्रसादं कुरुते स वैतं द्रष्टुमर्हति।

S'āntiparvan St.336-20.

84. Cf. केवलेन हि भावेन कोप्यो गावो नत्रा मृगाः.....मामीयुरंजसा।

— Bhāgavata XI-12-8 also Bhāgavata VII-5-24.

85. Cf. Bhāgavata III-29-11 to 14.

un-Vedic, āchāryas like Rāmānuja wrote commentaries on the Brahma-Sūtra, Gītā etc., and proved that the cult of Bhakti was Vedic. Thus, the philosophical trait was added to the theological part of the cult of Bhakti. VL got such a valuable legacy. He appears to be influenced by Rāmānuja and Nimbārka.⁸⁶ What VL did, was to synthesize the scattered ideas, sift out the dvaita-bhāva and lay emphasis on complete surrender to and the grace of the Lord. He emphasised that other means of liberation were of no use and hence service to the Lord with pure and deep love was the only duty of the soul. He preached that life should not be only lived in God, but also for God, and that the devotee had to look for the comforts of the Lord. VL and VT gave a perfect philosophical and theological system. That is the difference between the age-old Bhaktimārga and the Puṣṭimārga or the s'aranamārga.

(xi) Misrepresentation of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga

Here I would like to refer to the misrepresentations that are made about VL and his system of religion, particularly in the West. Mrs. Annie Besant had stated that VL was "the most illiterate."⁸⁷ M.M. Williams has disparaged this doctrine in his "Brahmanism and Hinduism." The

86. Vide the ninth stanza of the Das'a-s'loki, where emphasis is laid on 'dainya' and 'kṛipā'.

87. Vide Mrs. Annie Besant: Esoteric Christianity, p. 369 (quoted by Shri L.P. Parekh in his shree ^{Mad} Vallabhacharya)

greatest disparagement is found in the 'Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics', which stigmatizes the doctrine as hedonistic tenets. This work says, "The Vallabhacharyas have often been called the Epicureans of India, and the history of their cult can be traced through stages similar to those which worked the development of Epicurean morals. ... His life was not unlike those of the other founders of religious sects in his time... his teaching contained the hedonistic root from which all subsequent evils were to spring."⁸⁸ This work makes many wrong statements about the life of VL and states that "the dedication in the first instance, ... is that which takes place when the offering is made to the guru."⁸⁹ This is quite wrong and contrary to the doctrine and its practice. The work has lost completely the meaning of the SR. The Encyclopaedia has drawn on the authority of the work, called, 'History of the sect of Maharajas', which has ignored the original doctrines and concluded them from the behaviour of one or two Gosvāmī Mahārājas. Such works have done much harm to the prestige of the sampradāya, through its misrepresentation. VL has described the ideal guru in the TDN and has even stated that a devotee may do without a guru if an ideal one is

88. Vol. XII P. 581 (Edited by James Hastings in 1921 A.D.).

89. Ibid P - 582.

not available, and may worship independantly by instituting an idol.⁹⁰ Who can be more progressive than this? In the sampradāya, VL is considered the guru and ācārya. Puruṣottamajī (birth 1724 V.S.) has stated in his commentary on the verse कृष्णसेवापरं....., that स्वस्मिन्नेवैतन्मागमि - गुरु त्वंनियच्छन्तः - - - - etc.⁹¹ It is utterly wrong and even malicious to call VL an epicurean and a propounder of hedonistic doctrine. In every religion, there are some persons, who have tendency to demoralise and who utilise particular situations for their selfish ends. Even in India, the word 'puṣṭi' is understood, by ignorant persons, to mean nourishment of the body, while the correct meaning is Divine Grace. But impartial observers and writers should not be led away by such black sheep. Fortunately, in this century, the sampradāya commanded respect of disinterested writers like Prof. H.V.Glasenapp and Mr. P. Johanns and Manilal C. Parekh, who have in their own way, evaluated the Śuddhadvaita

90. Cf. कृष्णसेवापरं वीक्ष्य दम्भारहितं नरं।

श्री भागवततत्त्वज्ञं भजेज्जिज्ञासुरादरात्॥

तदभावे स्वयं वाऽपि मूर्तिं कृत्वा हरेः क्वचित्।

परिचर्यां सदा कुर्यात्तद्रूपं तत्र च स्थितम् ॥

doctrine.⁹²

(xii) Descendents of VT

As stated above, the system of VL which was later perfected by VT, satisfied the demand of the age to a considerable extent and therefore the pustimārga spread rapidly. Progeny of VT became instrumental in its widespread. VT had seven sons. All of them were learned in the scriptures and well trained to propagate the doctrine. Descendents of the seven sons later established their different seats at different places in India. GO, the fourth son of VT. (study of whose works forms the subject of this thesis), was very illustrious and stood

92. "Cf. "VL helps us to understand better this ideal world. Rāmānuja considered this world as an expansion of God. VL does away with this inconsistency. The ideal world is but a self-analysis of God which does not increase the Absolute, but only shows what it is.

It is, however, in his practical philosophy that we find the most valuable contributions of VL. It is even in his school that we meet with the perfect definition of the love of God, for it states that we must love God for His own sake and ourselves and everything else for the sake of God. A better definition is impossible."

- P.Johanns: To Christ through the Vedanta, Part III, Vallabha (Third Impression), P.1.

the challenge of an asectic named Cidrūpa. Go was followed by Harirāyajī (1646-1772 V.S.), son of his nephew. He too, was a great bhakta and writer. Then, there were other Goswāmīs such as Kākā Vallabhajī (birth 1703 V.S.), Purusottamjī (birth 1724 V.S.), Yogī Gopes'varajī (birth 1836 V.S.), Giridharajī (birth 1847 V.S.) and Pandits like Bālūbhāṭṭa, Balabhadra, Govardhana, Gattulāla and Aṣṭa-chāpā poets and Dayārāma who wrote important works on S'uddhādvaita Philosophy.⁹³ Among these, Purusottamjī wrote many commentaries and articles, defeated his antagonists and proved the sound footing of the S'uddhādvaita Puṣṭimārga. During the 18th and the 19th centuries, a large section of people (masses as well as princes) embraced this religious sect and many temples were erected in different parts of the country. When the temple of S'ri Nāthajī was instituted at Nāthadvārā near Udaipur in Mewar, the sampradāyagot a great impetus and it spread widely in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

In the galaxy of these writers, GO is a star of no mean magnitude. Before him, his father and grandfather had firmly established the doctrine and his father had given an almost perfect practical way of

93. Vide in this connection a tribute given by the celebrated Gujarati poet Nānālal in the preface to his translation of the Sixteen Treatises.

religious life. GO's task was to interpret and advocate that way of life and inculcate, on the minds of the followers, the true essence of ^{the} Pustimārga. Many times it so happened that the main purpose of the doctrine is forgotten in the philosophical squabbles. GO, therefore, saw his duty in ^{emphasizing} ~~bringing out~~ the Prameya, rather than pramāṇa and sādhanā. He wrote a number of expositions (vivarāṇas), tracts and articles in Sanskrit, but preached in the popular tongue. We shall evaluate his works in the following pages, but before we turn to his works, we should have a look at his life too, for it would help understanding his mind.

CHAPTER - II

Life and Personality of Gokulnathajī

(i) Introductory

So far, no historical and dispassionate approach is made in writing the life of GO, nor all available material is exploited. I have tried to gather all available material and depicted his life and personality in a very short form. Disciples of GO have written extensively on his life. Out of these Kallola of Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa, the Five Tarangas of Gopāldās and Sajjana Mandana of Mahāvādās are important. There works are mostly unpublished. I have seen relevant parts of these works and have tried to sift out an element of exaggeration and have outlined the life of GO dispassionately.

(ii) Childhood & Education

S'rī GO's real name was Vallabha and his father, S'rī VT. was always calling him by that name. He is also referred to in his (VT'S) letters as S'rī Vallabha. That was the name given to him, according to the astrological considerations, and S'rī GO mentions himself as Vallabha in his works. But he is popularly known as S'rī GO in the sampradāya and among his disciples. It is said that at the time of his birth one of the

followers, Kṛṣṇa-dāsa, uttered spontaneously, "come now my Gokula-nātha",¹ and hence he became known as S'rī GO. It is also probable that he is called so, because he established his seat (gādī) at Gokul which became very much famous, populous and rich on his account.

Among his disciples, he is also known as S'rījī and Mahāprabhuji. His another name (मास-नाम) according to other astrological calculations based on month, was Kṛṣṇa and his nakṣtra - name was Dāmodara.

He was born at Adel near Allahabad on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa of 1608 VS. (1551 A.D.). He was the fourth of the seven sons of S'rī VT. It is reported that some inexplicable, unintelligible joy spread among the followers of the sect at the time of his birth and some good auguries were noticed, and hence his birth was celebrated with unprecedented enthusiasm. A detailed description of this celebration, of course exaggerated, is given by Gopāladāsa Vyārahālā in his Prākṛtya - Siddhanta.² S'rī VT also experienced an indescribable joy and celebrated his birth with giving alms to Brahmins

1. Cf. तदा ब्रवीन्मोदयुताः य दासी कृष्णस्य वै गोकुलनाथ एव।
जातस्तदा, भूद्धि तदेव नामा..... ।

-Mahāvādāsa's Sajjana - Mandana VI. - 12, 13.

2. Cf. Mr. M.L.Gandhi's Life of S'rī GO - P.80.



and others.

A manuscript, titled श्री गुसाईंजी और दामोदर-
दासजी का संवाद (बंध ३३ सरस्वतीभंडार - कांकरौली) gives
the following information:

इतनी बात कही श्री दामोदरदासजीने अरु श्री गुसाईंजी के
चरणारविंद पर ठेरे तब श्री एस्त्रसों पकरि कें उठाए अरु करी जू
तुम पावन मति परी तुम्हारी प्राकट्य को यह प्राकट्य श्रीकृष्ण जू
कह्यो है और श्री आचार्यजू तुम्हारे हृदयमें दिराजमान तातें तुम
बडेन के सेवक हो अरु बडे हो तातें यह जानिके हम संकोच पावत है तब कही
जू संकोच काहे को निज धाम में तो हमारी प्राकट्य तुम्हारे मुखारविंद
तें है। अरु यहां भूतल पर फेरी जन्म होइगी सी तो तुमही ते
तुम्हारे घर हम बेटा होइगे। तातें दोउ प्रकार हमारी प्राकट्य
तुमही तैह तातें हमे को पावन परियो उचित ही है। तातें श्री
गिरधर गोविंदजू प्रकटे है। अरु बालकृष्णजी जब प्रकटेंगे। पाछे
हम तुम्हारे प्रकटेंगे। तातें पिता की डंडीत करनी उचित है।³

This shows that Dāmodardāsa, who died in
1607 V.S. took re-birth as S'rī GO . But this is
against the popular belief that S'rī VL was re-born
in the form of S'rī GO.

3. Vide Kānkerolī MS No(Hindi) 92/4/1 - P. 23 & 24.



Śrī Gokulanāthajī in his early childhood

(By courtesy of Sri Lallubhai C. Desai)

His horoscope (janma-kundali)⁴ was prepared by Somā Joshi who said that the person would be glorious and majestic and would be a great exponent, champion and protector of Dharma.

One of the incidents of his childhood is worth mentioning. On the ninth day of the bright half of ^{Jyestha} of 1609 V.S., the anna-prāśana samskāra of GO was performed in the ceremony of giving him food was done. After he was made to eat certain eatables, S'rī Vṛ put before him several things and asked him to take what he liked, with a view to seeing which of them he took and finding his attitude. GO took hold of the skirt of a woman, took the Bhāgavata and Tulasi-mālā and went in the direction of the nija-mandira. This was taken as indicating his future great work; viz. protection of the Bhāgavata Dharma where dedication in the manner and with the spirit of a woman is considered supreme.⁵ Next to this, different sacraments, such as karna-vedha, Cūḍā-karma etc., were duly performed. He was a beautiful

4. Vide appendix No.1

5. Very interesting description of his childhood - activities is given by Gopāladāsa in his Prākṛtya - Siddhānta, e.g. how he tried to start walking and speaking Dāmodardāsi as Bodaddāsi and pleased his parents and followers.

child and attracted all relatives and attendants. He liked to play with cows and calves and his love for that animal was great. When, in after-life he left Gokul at the bidding of Jehangir, he took all his cows with him.⁶

When he finished his seventh year, the sacrament of giving him the sacred thread was performed, on the sixth day of the bright half of Chaitra of 1615 V.S. This occasion was celebrated with great pomp and enthusiasm, as S'rī Vṛ loved him most.

At the age of five, he started learning. He was ~~gea~~ taught Bāla-Rāmāyana, Amara-Kos'a and different Sanskrit poems which he learnt with ease. But the religious ceremony of starting teaching was performed later i.e. after upanayana-samskāra. He was sent to Nārāyana^{6(a)} of Karnāṭaka for learning. He learnt through him different darsanas and S'āstras, literary works and

6. Cf. गाये अपने बहोत है सो सबे संग आवे कहाँ,

ताते संग कछु एक लीजिए।

त्पारे गोकुलपाल नीलिया जो गायकु छाँडे जाँदा,

तो संग ले जाइ कह्यो, गाय तो जाँदा हम ताँहाँ।

- quoted in the Life of GO by Mr. M.L. Gandhi from Maloddhara of Gopāladāsa, P.275.

६६
6 (a) Cf. नारायण दुपाध्याय कर्णाट विषयमेवम् ।

Bhāgavata etc. His retentive capacity was good and so he pleased his parents and others by repeating what he learnt at the guru's house. He ~~used~~ used to point out mistakes of his co-students and taught them the right lessons. He was not interested only in studying the sacred and literary works i.e. in mental exercises; he was also interested in physical exercises and hence used to go to gymnasium, learnt there many games and exercises. He was ~~found~~ fond of riding horses and always liked to travel on horseback and not in a bullock-cart or on an elephant. It is said that his manner of playing different games with his friends was royal.

In the year 1561 A.D. (V.S.1617), the village Adel was ruined on account of the military activities of Akbar and therefore S'rī VT decided to go to Gadhā, (an historical place in Bundelkhand but not identified today,) where the queen Durgāvatī ruled and where he was given a royal welcome by the queen. S'rī VT lived there for nearly three years and left the place in the year 1621 V.S., for Gokul and Mathura, when Akbar invaded Gadhā.

During this journey, once it so happened that all became very thirsty on account of severe heat. S'rī VT went in search of water. One of the attendants, had a pitcher full of water with him. GO

did not take that water even though very thirsty, for it was considered irreligious to take water that was polluted. He took water when brought by S'rī VT. In this way, he was scrupulously following the precepts of the elders and customs of the sect.

They reached Gokul in 1622 V.S. (Bhādrapada Kṛāṇa 2nd day) and were received with ceremony by the people of Mahāvana. Here S'rī VT built necessary ^{number of} temples for the worship of the Lord, houses, stables and cow-pans. During the festival of Janma-aṣṭamī, there arose a clash between the Vaiṣṇavas and some people of Mahāvana. S'rī VT thought that he would not be able to do sevā with ease and quiet and left Gokul for Mathura on the tenth day of the bright half of Kārtika of 1623 V.S.

At Mathura, S'rī VT sent GO to the great Pandit S'ivadatta Bhaṭṭa (Sāṇḍatta⁷ according to Mahāvādāsa) for learning the S'āstras. It is said that he did not pay much attention to the study of the scriptures, but was always engrossed in the reading of the Bhāgavata. When other students complained that Vallabha did not prepare his lessons well, the guru asked him certain questions, to which he replied correctly. The guru then inquired and found that he was reading the Bhāgavata most of the time. He, therefore, came

7. Vide Sajjana - Maṇḍana Chapter 6.

to know that GO had got sharp memory and was much interested in reading literature of ^{He} Bhaktimārga.

(iii) Marriage and Family affairs

At the age of sixteen GO was married to eight year old Parvati⁸, daughter of Venā Bhaṭṭa, on Thursday, the second day of the dark half of Āṣadha⁹ of 1624 V.S. Later his maternal uncle and others pressed him for a second marriage, as Parvatījī did not conceive in her early age, but GO did not do so and was adamant on that point.

In 1629 V.S., at the request of the people of Mahāvana, S'ri VT decided to stay at Gokul permanently and after going there built houses with

8. The 252 Vārtās give a story of Kisoribāi (Vārtā No.209), where it is stated that Kisoribāi would be the wife of GO in the next birth. Cf.

बीर श्रीगुसाईजी बाप बाबा कि, जो - कसौरीबाई की जन्म फेरि भूतल पर होईगी। सो श्री गोकुलनाथजी की बहूजी होईगी। सो यह वार्ता गोप्य है। - - -

-252 Vārtās: Part III - P.153 (ed.by Dwarkadas Parikh)

9. According to Gujarati calendar it is Jyestha - Gopālādās has given a long description of this marriage festival, of hundreds of clothes and ornaments given to the bride and the relatives - which throws light on the customs and prosperity of those days.

nija-mandira for the Lord's sevā.

It is reported that S'ri VT knew beforehand of the end of his worldly existence. He left Ghans'yamaji (who was still a small boy) to the care of GO, and then told him (GO) in privacy to serve the Lord S'ri Nāthaji to the best of his ability and follow the precepts of S'ri VL. Then he gave him (GO) his (VT'S) own māla and some of his written works. He passed away on the seventh day of the month of Māgha of 1642 V.S. It is said that he wrote two letters before he passed away and kept them under his gādi. One of them contained an advice to all to act according to the advice of GO and the other contained advice as to how they should perform his funeral rites.¹⁰

10. A similar incident is reported by Mahāvādāsa in his sajjana - Mandana , Chapter 17 :

श्री गीवर्धननाथस्य संन्निधी विठ्ठलेश्वरः।
 स्वतेजः स्थापयामास वल्गुं पश्यतां सतां॥४॥
 स्वकरं दर्पणं धृत्वा पश्यत्तत्र सुवकुण्ठा।
 गोकुलेशं नगेशं च विठ्ठलो ब्रजभूषणम् ॥५॥
 पश्यतां सर्वपुत्राणां सतां च विठ्ठलेश्वरः।
 उत्सर्गे वल्गुं धृत्वा तत्र वाचमुवाच हि ॥६॥
 हे संतो हेऽर्भका यूयं श्रुध्वं मे हितं वचः।
 सर्वकार्यसिद्धयर्थं मनोवाक्यकर्मभिः मुदा॥७॥
 अहं श्री वल्गुमेढयास्मिन्निवसामि सदा मुदा।
 आचार्येण सहित्वा सर्वमंगलकारिणा ॥८॥
 यथा मां हि तथाप्येनं जानन्तु ममसेवकाः।
 अर्भका अपि सर्वेशं मदात्मजमसुप्रियं ॥९॥

GO had first three daughters and next three sons whose names were Gopālajī, Vitthalrāyajī and Vrajaratnajī. The first and the third son had not their lineage continued, whereas the second son had four sons. As regards the discontinuity of the lineage of Gopālajī, it is said that his father (i.e. GO) cursed him so. Once the personal deity (Sevya-svarūpa) of Ghanas'yāmajī was stolen and he, therefore, took an oath not to take food until he got back his svarūpa. GO had great love for Ghanas'yāmajī and hence could not see his (Ghanas'yāmajī's) agony and so he pronounced a curse that the lineage of the thief would not continue. It was later found that some children including Gopālajī stole the svarūpa out of sport. Some servants and Vaisnavas requested GO to withdraw such a severe curse, but he neither withdrew not minimised it.¹¹ Whatever be the truth in this anecdote, one thing is quite clear that GO loved his younger brother most, and could not see him abandoning all food.

11. The incident is reported in the 117th Vachanāmṛata in 'S'ri Giridharajī Mahārāja ke 120 Vachanamṛata. Cf. मेरे वंश में दुख दिया होयगी ताकी वंश - निर्वश जेयो । - - - - P.294.

S'rī GO was very popular with the followers of the sect. His wisdom and learnedness, religious attitude and even his handsome physiognomy attracted many people towards him. His eldest brother Giridharajī became envious of him. GO was generous hearted and gave alms freely. Giridharjī did not like all this and felt that he and his family were getting ruined on account of GO. So, he proposed to all his brothers to get separated and to distribute the property among themselves. GO said that it was in the interest of the family to live together and that the family would lose its strength by partition. GO again told his elder brother that the latter might not bother about family affairs and all the responsibilities of the large family would be fulfilled by him (i.e. GO). But Giridharjī did not like the idea and persisted in getting separated, and GO had to yield. GO got separated from Giridharjī against his (the former's) wish and took under his care his youngest brother Ghanas'yāmajī and his nephew Kalyānarāja, son of Govindarājajī. Hardly any property ^{11(a)} was given to him (GO), but he did not quarrel and took it as God's will. Many disciples of S'rī VT came to GO, was asked them to serve Giridharajī, but when they did not like to go to him

11(a) Cf. Kalyāna Bhaṭṭa's Kallola III - Taranga 51: (61)

परिधीन वस्त्रशेषः पुयक् etc.

(Giridharjī), GO allowed them to stay with him to serve the Lord. Many followers brought presents to him. One person named Devā Devadā offered him (GO) his own house and so he could start doing Lord's Sevā in the usual manner. He had great respect and love for his eldest brother. He used to seek his (eldest Brother's) permission before doing any work, as it is suggested by the rāsa-prasanga referred to in the story of Chaturbhuja-dāsa.^{11(b)} Even after the incident of partition, his respect and love for his brother did not diminish. We find it fully evinced in the Mālā - prasanga. He went to see Chidrupa in the company of his eldest brother, so that his (Giridharajī's) respect would be maintained.

(iv) Journey to Gujarat

Once Hariwams'abhai of Ahmedabad wrote a letter¹² to GO requesting him to visit Gujarat and give
11(b). 252 Vartās Part III - P.345 (D.Parikh's edition).
12. Cf. राजनगर हरिवंसजी लखी विनती वेद,

श्रीपानाथ करुणा करी, भावी मेहो दाह -

- Gopāldāsa : Gujarāta-gamanaḥ Anugraha IV - P.382.
Also see 252 Vartās Part I, P.19 (Ed. by Dvarkadas Parikh)
सो श्री गोकुलनाथजीने प्रथम ही संकल्प कर्मी हत्ती, जो मेरे द्रव्य
निमित्त परदेस न जानी । परि व्दारिकाजी की माहात्म्य विचार्यी।
और चाचा हरिवंसजी ने लिख्यो । तासो बापु श्री गोकुलनाथजी
श्री व्दारिकाजी की पधारे । सो प्रथम राजनगर पधारे ।

a dars'ana to the many ^{followers} (bhaktas), separated by a long distance. Pavā Travādi and others ^{too}, who were his 'ante-vāsīs', too pressed him to go to Gujarat and he consented. Chāmpābhāī prepared everything necessary for the journey, (which was really a hard task in those days) and GO started with the blessings of his elder sister S'obhājī and others, on the ninth day of the bright half of Chaitra of 1646 V.S., at an auspicious time according to astrology.¹³ Before leaving Gokul, he instructed all servants and followers and relatives as to how to serve the Lord in the best possible way. He asked Chāmpābhāī, the charge-de-affairs, to look after the comforts of all the disciples of S'ri VL and S'ri VT, and to see that no disciple feels unhappy on account of his or his father's absence. During his stay at Gokul, he always saw that no Vaisnava felt unhappy or dissatisfied on any account and he took

13. A detailed description of GO's journey to Gujarat and visit to different places there, is given in Rasik-
 Rāsa or Gujrāt - Prasāṅg of Gopāldāsa and in the
 fourth and the fifth parts of Kallola by Kalyāṇa-Bhaṭṭa.
 These works supply a wealth of information about the
 geography, society and religious practices of Gujarat during
 the 17th Century.

pride in whatever service he could do to the Vaiṣṇavas.

He kept horses, chariots and carts and various attendants, including a washerman. He visited several places¹⁴, big and small, villages, towns and cities; and initiated many men and women into ^{the} Puṣṭi-mārga without looking to their caste and their high and low status in society. He visited small villages like Dadhātīā and Sātardā (now in Sābarkāntha District), cities like Udepur and Asārvā (now a part of Ahmedabad) and initiated into ^{the} Puṣṭi-mārga the sixteen queens of king Viramdeva of Vijāpur, the king Punjā Rāval of Modāsā, who presented him the village Antisardum,¹⁵ and Raṅgrāya, Mādhavdāsa and Vrindavan (Asārvā), who belonged to the low castes, and visited Harpal Bhila of Pānod who was a disciple of S'rī Vṛ. While journeying to different places in Gujarat and elsewhere, he always preached that there is no distinction of high and low in ^{the} Puṣṭimārga and that the Lord Kṛṣṇa accepts the true devotion of the bhakta and is not drawn by his wealth and pomp. At some places, like Asārvā, he stayed for comparatively a longer period and showed to the followers the way of Lord's sevā in full details.

14. Vide appendix No.2.

15. Cf. अतीसरहुं गाम छे बेह, प्रभुने त्वांदा समर्प्य तेह ।

From Asārvā, GO went to Dwārakā, one of the sacred places in Western India. He put up at Dāngadarā (Modern Dhāngadhra?) , a small place. It is reported that his people searched for water in ponds but could not find water any where. GO told them that they would find water in the pond nearby which they had already searched in vain. At the bidding of GO, the servants went there and found, to their surprise, clear water in the pond. People were impressed by this inexplicable event and were convinced. Of his divinity and his mystic nature.^{15(a)}

15(a). Other miraculous events are narrated in the Kallola, e.g. a cow was saved by him from the fatal effects of poison of a serpent (Kallola II-37) and he made it to rain by uttering the Parjanya Sūkta (Kallola II - 53). (Such incidents are reported in the case of many saints and the modern man with his scientific outlook would not fain accept them as true happenings. It is possible that there may be an element of exaggeration in the report of such events. But we cannot throw them off as non-sense, for there is at least something mystic about Life and the powers of the Soul.)

He reached Dwārakā on the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada of 1646 V.S., stayed there for eleven days, honoured the learned Brahmins and taught the Gujālīs (- the Brahmins who had the right to serve the Lord Rānachodajī -) the right order and spirit of the Lord's worship.

From Dwārakā, he again came to Rājanagerī, i.e. Ahmedabad. Once a Brahmin named ~~Bāra~~ Bāra-bhāṭa came there and challenged all to discuss with him theological and philosophical themes and propounded his own (unnamed) doctrine in reputation of all. He came to S'rī GO and challenged him that he (Bāra-bhāṭa) would defeat him (GO) in a debate. GO heard what he said at length and then silenced him by various authoritative statements from the Vedic texts and other scriptures. Similarly, at Surat too, he discussed with a Brahmin Harikākā and Rangejī¹⁶; the scriptural tenets and established the truth of the Bhaktimārga.¹⁷

16. Vide Gujarat - Prasāṅga Māṅgalya 13, by Gopāldāsa.

17. In the work called S'rī Gokulanāthajī ki Bethakana ke Charitra, it is stated in the description of the Bethaka of Adel as follows:

श्री गोकुलनाथजी अपनी बैठकमें बिराजे हते तब मायावादी पंडित आयो।
सो वाके संग आपने चर्चा कीनी सो दौय त घडीमें याको निरुत्तर
करदीनो॥ तब वा पंडितने साष्टांग दंडवत कीये । -- -

From Rajanagar, he went to South Gujarat at the request of many followers and then returned to Gokul, via. Ujjain, on the second of the bright half of Vais'ākha of 1647 V.S. i.e. after a year.

It appears that he kept many books and even scribed with him while on journey and taught the Vaiṣṇavas the importance of both nāma-sevā and svarūpa-sevā. He sometimes presented certain works to the Vaiṣṇavas. One MS of Subodhinī dated 1646 and 1647 is found in Kapadvanj¹⁸ (Dist. Kaira) at the place, sacred to Benajī-rāja, popularly known as Benajī-rāja's - Kōṭha and the last page (No.488) bears the words *वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्*. During his journey in Gujarat GO visited Kapadvanj and therefore it is safe to surmise that he might have got the MS prepared there and might have given it to some follower.

18. The end of the first skandha bears the words:

संवत् १६४६ वर्षा श्रवणमासासिते पक्षे दशम्यां तिथौ
चंद्रदिने लिखितो पं स्कंध सप्तमः समाप्तः॥

The end of the third skandha bears the words:

सं० १६४७ वर्षी कार्तिक मासे सिततरपक्षीय प्रतिपदि
रवी लिखितमिदं तृतीयस्कंधविवरणं यथा प्रति ॥

(v) Discharging of Debts :

S'ri VT had incurred some debt before he passed away, and that amounted to nearly 32 thousand of rupees when GO returned from Gujarat. Giridharajī said to the creditors that he was not able to pay off the debts and that they should get it repayed by all his brothers, as S'ri VT had incurred it. The creditors said that it was he i.e. Giridharajī who signed the documents and that they could not ask any of his brothers to pay it off. Once they gathered and observed a sit-down strike at the door of the temple of S'ri Navanītapriyājī and did not allow the Rāja-bhoga-Thāla to go into the nija-mandira 18(a). When GO came to know of this incident, he said that if Dādā (i.e. Giridharajī) asked him (GO) to pay off the debts, he would do so. And the creditors showed the letter of Giridharajī who had stated that Vallabha (i.e. GO) should pay off the debts. On reading the letter, he took an oath that he would not take meals unless he discharges the debts incurred by his saintly father. Disciples of GO were terrified by such an oath. He was thinking of warding the difficulty, when one follower, viz. Lādabāī of Rana Thambhor requested him through Pāvā Travādī and others to take meals as she had asked the money-lenders to take the amount from her. After repeated requests from the Vaiṣṇavas, GO

18(a) Cf. Kallola VI - Tārāṅga 8:

श्री गोकुले समाजगुः नवनीतप्रियस्य ते, रुरुधुः भोगसामग्री
तत्सिष्यस्य द्विजाधमाः॥

accepted the offer of Lāḍabāī, ^{who} desired to present most of her property to him.

One more incident of his generosity is noted. When the above incident happened, Giridharajī was out of Gokul. When he knew that the debts were paid off, he started for Gokul. GO, out of respect for his elder brother, went to receive him. He was riding a horse, whose name was Nayanāḍukha¹⁹ (Delight of the eyes), and the horse was really so handsome that every one was pleased to see him. Muralīdharajī, son of Giridharajī expressed his desire to have the horse and GO gave him (the horse) up to him, even though he (the horse) was very dear to him.

In 1651 V.S. he journeyed to the different sacred places in North India, viz. Kurukṣetra, Haradvāra Rāṣikes'ā etc. and visited the places where disciples of S'ri VL and S'ri VT stayed. While travelling, he used to talk about the nature of Puṣṭi-mārga and the way of sevā. Many of these talks are collected as nectar-precepts (vachanāmr̥tas).

GO, unlike his father S'ri VT, did not travel extensively, as he liked to stay at Gokul and do the Lord's

19. This horse was presented to him by a vaiṣṇava of Surat as shown in Prakatyā Siddhānta of Gopāldās; Māṅgalye 13 St. 61.

seva himself. In the after-noon and at night after the last dars'ana was over, he sat with the followers and preached them the doctrine of Puṣṭimārga; explained the Bhāgavata and the works of S'rī VL and S'rī VT. Perhaps it is after 1658 V.S., when many of his social duties (sons' marriages etc.) were over, that he took to writing and commented on some of the works of S'rī VL and S'rī VT.

(vi) The Mālā-Prasaṅga:

It is in his after-life that a great event, known as Mālā-prasaṅga, took place. It is this event that brought him prestige and glory as an Ācārya,²⁰ and which set the Puṣṭimārga on a sound footing²¹.

20. It should be remembered that S'rī GQ never calls himself an Ācārya. There is a tradition in the sampradāya that S'rī VL only is the Ācārya and guru. All others are guru-dvāras. S'rī VT is also considered an Ācārya by some, for he wrote the last one and a half chapter of Anu-Bhāṣya.

21. Cf. यतिवशे षरणेशे धर्मलोपे प्रवृत्ते हरिचरणे सहायो यः स्वधर्मं
जुगोप। - Kṛṣṇa-rāya's S'rī Gokules'āṣṭaka: St.1

and also Cf. मालायेन सुरक्षिता निजमहायत्नेन कठे सताम् ।

— Hari-rāyajī's S'rī Gokules'āṣṭaka, St.8.

This event has made GO known as Mālā-Prasanga-vāṭa Gokulanāthajī.

The event took place during 1674 - 76 V.S.²² (1618 - 21 A.D.). It is described in details by Mathapati Kalyāna Bhaṭṭa in the 7th, 8th and 9th chapters, called Kallolas, of his Sanskrit work श्री गोकुलसुधासिंधु-
रसविषयदीपिका and by Gopaldas Vyāravāla in his Māloddhara. It is in short as follows :

There was an ascetic named Cidrūpa residing in a cave²³ on the bank of S'ipra near Ujjain. Once Gopal Pandya and Machiya Vyās of Visalnagar, who were the followers of the Vallabha-sect, happened to see Cidrūpa, who asked them why they were putting on the tulasīmālā and had the tilaka-mark on the fore-head. He called them untouchables and hence they abused him by calling him a Cāndāla. From that day, he conceived great enmity for the Vaiṣṇavas and was determined to uproot the sect. He also envied the position and popularity of the Gosvāmīs and wanted to minimise their influence on the people as well as the rulers.

22. Cf. (Numbers to the stanzas are not given) पुरुषार्थ

मुनि रसेंदु प्रमिते वर्णः। - Kṛṣṇa Kalyāna Bhaṭṭa's Kallola VII-1.

23. The name of the cave according to Kalyāna Bhaṭṭa is Bhartrhari and Bhīmarathī according to Gopāldas.

During that year i.e. 1617 A.D., it so happened that Jahangir, the then Emperor of India, was passing through the jungles of Dohad^{23(a)}. He was informed by his Rajput companions that there was staying a very great ascetic near Ujjain. Out of curiosity Jahangir went to see him. The Emperor has noted his visit to the ascetic in his memoirs, named, Tuzuk - i - Jahangiri, in the following words:

"On the second Isfandarmuz I embarked in a boat from Kāliyādāha and went to the next stage. I had frequently heard that an anstere sanyasi of the name of Jadrup many years ago retired from the city of Ujjain to a corner of the desert and employed himself in the worship of the true God. I had a great desire for his acquaintance, and when I was at the capital of Agra I was desirous of sending for and seeing him. In the end, thinking of the trouble it would give him, I did not send for him. When I arrived in the neighbourhood of the city I alighted from the boat and went ½ Kos on foot to see him. The place he had chosen to live in was a hole on the side of a hill

23(a). Vide M.S. Commisariat's : A History of Gujarat Vol. II - Chapter V (Jahangir's Tour in Gujarat and His Visit to Its Capital (1617-18)) and Chapter VI (Jahangir's Second Visit to Ahmedabad (April-September 1618)).

which had been dug out and a door made."²⁴

While returning from Gujarat, Jahangir met Cidrūpa, which incident he refers to in the following words:

"On Wednesday, the 29th, I had an interview with Jad rūpā, Certainly association with him is a great privilege..²⁵"

"On Saturday, for the second time, my desire for the company of Jadrup increased. After performing the midday devotions, I embarked in a boat and hastened to meet him and at the close of the day I ran and enjoyed his society in the retirement of his call. I heard many sublime words of religious duties and knowledge of divine things. Without immoderate praise, he sets forth clearly the doctrines of wholesome sufism and one can find delight in his society".²⁶

Jahangir was much impressed by his asceticism and his ways. He asked him (Cidrūpa) to favour him by demanding anything he (Cidrūp) wanted. Cidrūpa gave the

24. The Tuzuk - i - Jahangiri, translated by Alexander Rogers, Vol. I - P.354.

25. Ibid Vol. II - P.49.

26. IBid: Vol. II - P. 52-53.

Emperor a boon that he and his empire would prosper and then said that he did not want anything for himself. He pointed out that only onething was unbecoming in his empire and that was the ways of the Vaisnavas who wearing the Tulasīmālā and doing the tilaka-mārk on their forehead and were fasting on the Ekādasī without any degree of the Das'ami²⁷. He warned that that thing would bring famine and other calamities in the empire and therefore, the Vaisnavas be asked to remove the sacred marks, Mālā and tilaka. Jahangir promised to do as he bid him to do.

The ascetic, then, began to harass the Vaisnavas and ordered them to fling away the Tulasī-mālā. Once two Vaisnavas, Trikam Bhaṭṭ and Devābhāī were seen by Cidrūpa. There was a bitter exchange of words between Cidrūpa and Devābhāī and the latter refused to do away with the sacred marks of Vaisnavism. Cidrūpa called Muhammed Taki, the Governor of the province and asked him to punish Devābhāī. He was threatened to be crushed by an elephant but he was adamant. ^{An} The elephant was brought and was goaded towards Devābhāī, who was standing with full faith in God, but the elephant did not harm goodby Devābhāī, was later honoured by the Governor with royal favour in the form of a sheet of cloth.

27. दशमी वेध विरहितमाश्रिकादशुपौषणं चालम् । -

- Kalyāna Bhaṭṭa : Kallola VII - 1.

After this incident took place, Jahangir returned from Gujarat (Fālguna of 1675 V.S.) and halted at Sikri. GO went to see him at Sikri as S'ri VT used to do. It appears that there was no talk about the order as regards the removal of ^{the} Mālā-tilak.²⁸

Jahangir, then stayed at Agra for some time and decided to go to Kashmir. Cidrūpa, after getting that news, started to see Jahangir and get an imperial order issued for removal of ^{the} Mālā-tilaka by the Vaiṣṇavas and the Gosvāmīs, particularly of Gokul. GO heard the news of his coming through S'yamdas Jetly and went to invite him, a sannyāsin, to have his bhikṣā (dinner) at his (i.e. a householder's) place. Cidrūpa did not accept his invitation.

28. Both the seventh Kallola and Māloddhāra report that Jahangir told GO that he intended to talk with him (GO) about something and GO replied that the Emperor might do it at any time. ^{Then, (GO)} And he returned to Gokul. This does not appear convincing because GO would not have avoided talking about the Mālā-tilaka. I surmise that there might not have been any talk about ^{the} Mālā-tilaka, otherwise Jahangir should have asked him to act according to Cidrūpa's bidding.

Cidrūpa came to Mathura and stayed at Sūryakūṇḍa.²⁹ Vaiṣṇavas of Mathura and Vṛndāvan came to see him and he asked them to remove ^{the} māla-tilaka.

After a few days passed, Girīdharajī and GO went to see Cidrūpa and bade him Namo Nārāyaṇa, which did not please him. Then, there was a talk about the authorities as regards ^{the} māla-tilaka, Agnihotra, Pañchayatana pūjā etc., and GO gave him proper replies. Cidrūpa threatened GO that he ~~would~~ would get ^{the} māla-tilaka removed by the order of the emperor,³⁰

29. The day was Ās'vina S'uklā 10th of 1676 V.S. Cf.

रसमुनि रसचंद्रमि ते संवत्सर आश्विनमासस्य दशम्यां -

- Kallola VII - 4

Also reads: ... At this time he changed his residence to Mathura and employed himself in the worship of the true God on the bank of the Jamnā. As I valued his society, I hastened to wait on him and for a long time enjoyed his company without the presence of any stranger.

- Tuzuk - i - Jahangiri (Rogers' Translation) Vol.II.P.104.

30. Cf. यदि न मयीक्तं यूयं करिष्यथ द्राक् तदा युष्मान् ।।

कारयिता यवनेशः स सार्वभौमो जहांगीरः ।।

अतितीक्ष्णदंढधारी प्रसभं बलवानधीनो मे ।।

- Kallola VII - 5.

but GO said that he had faith in Jahangir who would not act contrary to religious doctrine.

By the time Cidrūpa came to Mathura, Jahangir had started for Kashmir. The first stay was at Karenavela. GO went to see and offer him his blessings. Jahangir asked him (GO) why he had not removed ^{the} mālā-tilaka, whereupon GO replied that he would do so, if the scriptures bade one to do so, and emphasised the fact that no scripture had said so. The Emperor asked him whether he (GO) would discuss the matter with Cidrūpa and GO gave his consent. Then, GO was asked to go and see him (The Emperor) at Mathura.

When the Emperor came to Rāvana koti near Mathura³¹, GO went to see him with all the scriptural evidences gathered. The Emperor went to honour Cidrūpa³² who asked him to get ^{the} mālā-tilaka removed by the Vaiṣṇavas, and to order them to put on rudrākṣa-mālā, if he (the emperor) wanted to be happy in all respects.³³ Jahangir said that GO was at Mathura

31. It was Kārtika Kṛṣṇa Ekādas'ī according to Māloddhara and Trayoda'ī according to Kallola.

32. See foot-note No.29.

33. तुलसीमालाक्षिरसनमुद्राक्ष विभूतिधारणादिमयी।

तामेव विधेहितरां वाच्छसि यदि सर्वथा शुभं ।।

and that he (Cidrūpa) should do what was proper after discussing with him (GO) the scriptural authorities. Cidrūpa said that he (GO) should act according to the Emperor's order, for his (Jahangir's) prosperity and welfare. Jahangir³⁴ was in a fix for a little while, for he knew that the Vaisnavas were following their own religion enjoined by their scriptures and that his father, too, honoured them most. On the ~~the~~ other hand he was drawn by the miraculous power of Cidrūpa. So, he called GO and asked him whether he would follow what Cidrūpa said. GO replied, "who would not act according to the order of him who is even honoured by you, the Emperor? But let him ask us to do what is right according to scriptural authorities."

Jahangir, then, asked Itberkhan² and Asafkhan to see that Cidrūpa and GO meet and discuss and find out the true path. They took GO with them and went to Cidrūpa. Asafkhan told Cidrūpa to discuss with GO the scriptural authorities as regards the māla-tilaka.

34. Gopāldās reports that Māni-bāī, one of the Hindu Begums of Jahangir told the Emperor that she would die if the Gosvāmī was forced to remove the sacred marks and so Jahangir did not take away severe step against go.

...77...

GO said that he was prepared to remove ^{He} māla-tilaka, if he (Cidrūpa) showed any authority against it. But Cidrūpa did not do so and asked them to do what he bade them to do, if they wanted to do good to the Emperor.

Itbarkhan and Asafkhan informed the Emperor what had happened. The Emperor ordered that all had to act according to what the ascetic said and that no one should disobey him. He asked Asaf to get it in writing from GO that he would act accordingly. Asaf has a soft corner for GO, so he told him that he should give it in writing as desired by the Emperor, but consoled him that no harassment would be made. GO gave in writing that he would act according to his order, if he (Cidrūpa) asked them to do what the scriptural authorities enjoined,³⁵ and went back to Gokul on the last day of the Kārtika of 1676 V.S.

The Emperor ordered all to pay obeisance to the ascetic and started further for Kashmir. The ascetic was now puffed up with his influence with and power over the Emperor. He, then, began to live in the manner of a Mahārājā and lived a licentious life.

35. Cf. धर्मं वचनं नास्योत्सङ्घयिताहे कदाचिदपि।

इत्येतदर्थकं ब्रूयात् पत्रं सम्यग् विलिख्यादात्॥

He insulted the Vaiṣṇavas and ordered them to remove their religious marks and many of them even did so out of terror. All the shops, selling ^{the} Tulasī-mālā were forced to be closed, so that no one could get a mālā.

He, then, sent some Gurjar Brahmins to see whether his order is carried out at Gokul. It was found that GO and his followers had not removed the Vaiṣṇava-marks and learning the news, the ascetic was enraged.

Once Vams'agopāl, a junior officer, had been to Mathura. He went to Cidrūpa for paying obeisance. Cidrūpa told him to bring GO, to him, so that he could insult him and make him obey the order with the help of the officers. He thought to bring GO through force and hence prepared soldiers for that purpose. Rāj Gadādhara, who was in charge of that district, asked him not to do anything without his permission in that matter and told him that that was not the way to take GO to the ascetic. Vams'agopāl went to GO and was much impressed by his behaviour and religious-mindedness. He requested GO to accompany him to the ascetic, whereupon GO told him that it was no use going to Cidrūpa and that he would be answerable to the Emperor and not to

the ascetic.³⁶ This incident was later known to Lashkarkhan, who was in charge of Agra Division and so he called Vans'agopāl back.

They, Cidrūpa called the officers of Mathura, viz. SherkhanFozdar, Katardi Koshtha Pālaka, Vali Dādā and others and asked them that they should force GO to remove the mālā-tilaka, otherwise the Emperor would be angry with all of them. They had a soft corner for GO, but had to go to GO at the instance of the ascetic, because he was honoured by the Emperor. They told GO that they knew that he (GO) had been on the right path, but requested him to do for the time being, what the ascetic said. GO replied how he could do that irreligious act and again added that one day he would ask the Vaisnavas to remove mālā and another day he would ask to remove the sacred thread; and hence it would not be proper to obey him who acted irreligiously.

36. This incident is described in both Kallola and Māloddhāra in details to show GO's provess. Doubts may be raised as to how GO refused to obey an officer. But it might be possible that Vans'agopāl had no authority to do what he intended to do, as is known from the advice given to him by Rāj Gadadhar, an army officer and the Jagirdar in Mathura region.

The officers returned³⁷ and told the ascetic what GO told them. He was much enraged and began to insult and harass all the Vaisnavas with the help of the officers who thought that they would be benefitted if they followed the ascetic's orders. Such officers told the Vaisnavas that imperial firmans were issued and all the Vaisnavas had to remove mālā-tilaka. Many of them did so. Some people believed in the divinity of the ascetic and some were drawn towards him (Cidrūpa) by allurements in the form of promises of higher grades, honours, gifts etc. from the Emperor.

He, then, began to live with all the paraphernalia (i.e. male and female attendants) cosmetics, musicians, dancas etc.) of an Emperor. One incident of his royal behaviour is reported. He saw a favourite lady, wearing a short sārī and asked her why she put on a short sārī. She replied that sārīs with long enough breadth were not available. So, the ascetic called all the weavers and abused and threatened them to death, if they did not weave long cloth for sārīs.

37. This incident leads to one fact that Jahangir did not promulgate an ordinance to that effect, but told his officers to respect and obey the ascetic.

...81...

People were in that way, harassed on many occasions. Some Vaiṣṇavas (e.g. Prayāgdās, Haradās, Kikābhāī and others) went to GO and sought his permission to quarrel with the ascetic and punish or ~~draw~~^{drawn} him. But GO said that he would die of his own sinful conduct.

Once after the Vasanta Pāñcamī of 1677 V.S. Cidrūpa called the officers and threatened them that they would be punished by the Emperor as they had not executed what both of them had said. Then, Sarāṅgaṇī (the Shakadār) and Uderam (the kotwal) and others went to Gokul. GO received them with due respect and asked them the cause of their arrival. Validada asked him why he and the Vaiṣṇavas were putting on the tulasī-mālā and disobeying the Emperor's order. GO said that they were wearing ~~the~~ it according to the S'āstric prescription and asked them to show the written order promulgated by the Emperor to that effect,³⁸ which they could not show. The officers, then, requested him to go to Mathura and see the ascetic, whereupon GO, with great reluctance, decided to go to Mathura, for if he did not go, Cidrūpa would harass the officers.

38. Cf. भाज्ञा वेदस्ति तर्हिद्राक पत्रं दर्शयतात्र नः।

When Rāy Gadadharadas, who was the Jagirdar of Mathura, knew that GO was being brought to Mathura, he was enraged and wanted to punish the officers, who pressed GO to come. But GO sent a message to him that he should keep quiet for the moment, otherwise ~~there~~ there would be riots. Some of the Vaisnavas accompanied GO and did not leave him, even if beaten by the sepoys.

When the ascetic was informed that GO was brought in his presence, and when he was requested by the officers to talk with GO, he (Cidrūpa) was a little perturbed and scolded them as to why they brought him (GO) there. He said to them that he wanted to see only that GO put off the mālā. GO said to the officers that he was not going to do what the ascetic said, that he had no right to harass the Vaisnavas and was prepared to see the Emperor in that connection.

In Mathura, when GO saw that some Vaisnavas have no tulasī-mālā round their neck, he gave them mālās to put on and consoled them that they should not fear the ascetic (Fālgunī Kṛṣṇa) 14th of 1676 V.S.).

Cidrūpa saw that GO would not renounce ^{He} mālā and was perturbed as to what should be done in that regard. It was a question of his honour and credit, so he sent a message to GO through his followers, who were promised imperial favours, that he should

remove ^{the} mālā only for a short time,³⁹ and might then, put on again. He asked his followers to make GO remove his mālā by any of the four means (ūpāyas). They requested, tempted and then threatened GO. He (GO) was told that all the officers, nay, the Emperor, were under the sway of the ascetic and that all his family and followers would be ruined, if he did not obey the ascetic. But GO was adamant on the point of not removing the mālā⁴⁰ and said that he would ~~prepare to protect his Dharma to ruin~~, ^{to the removal of the mālā.}

When the followers of GO heard that a plan to use force for the removal of the mālā was hatched, they were prepared to give a hand to hand fight to the followers of the ascetic and even the royal servants! But GO asked them to remain quiet and unperturbed and consoled them that they, being on the right path, God would help them and that ~~the~~ their love for religion was tasted in such calamities.

39 Cf. तुलसीदासजमाला कणमात्रपरित्यागतो भवतः।

हन्तापवीर्यते किं यद्रक्षायै महाप्रभो तनुषे ॥

40. Cf. जात्वपि न विधास्ये, इं धर्मविरुद्धं वचोऽस्य दुष्टस्य।-

After repeated requests of the followers of Cidrūpa, GO prepared himself to see him. At that time hundreds of people accompanied him. The police prevented the people and there was a hue and cry and a hand to hand fight ^{would} have followed if the ascetic ^{had} ~~did~~ not come out of his cave through fear and ^{had} ~~did~~ not ~~told~~ GO to go his own way, and do what he (GO) liked. GO, then, went to Gokul and many people followed him.

When Cidrūpa could not do anything to GO, he wrote a letter to Jahangir, stating that all the Vaisnavas had removed their tulasī-mālā, but only GO and some of his followers were adamant on the point and therefore GO should be asked to leave Gokul. On the advice of Asafkhan, Jahangir wrote to the Governor of Agra Division that he should arrange to send GO to Kashmir. The second Taranga of the eighth Kallola notes that the order was received in Mathura by Singhnāma Vaidya on S'rāvana Kṛṣṇa Aṣṭamī of 1677 V.S. When GO, received that order, he prepared for the journey and started for Kashmir on the ninth day of the dark half of S'rāvana of 1677 V.S. i.e. in the rainy season and at the age of 70. The event shows the truthfulness of his purpose. Another thing is to be noted in this connection. It was a belief and practice in those days that an Ācārya should not cross



Śrī Gokulanāthajī on his way to Kashmir
to see Jahangir

(By courtesy of Śuddha-advaita Samsad, Baroda)

the river Sarasvatī. But GO did not mind breaking the tradition and did not fear criticism at the hands of the Brahmins. But he went to Kashmir for proving his right stand and protecting the Dharma.

Jahangir's residence in Kashmir was at a distance of 444 Kos'as and he reached there on the 49th day, on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada. He stayed in Kashmir for eleven days and returned to Gokul after 91 days.

Both Gopāldās and Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa give long reports of the journey with many details. The details are useful from the geographical point of view. GO had with him a party of nearly two hundred people and horses and carts to carry the bags and baggages. Several Vaiṣṇavas were accompanying him from place to place and were returning after some days. Some Vaiṣṇavas did not like to miss the company of GO and so, they accompanied him, even though GO asked them to return home. During the journey various discussions were going on. This event reminds one of the pāda-yātrā of Vinobaji in our days.

Go stayed in Kashmir in the garden of Rāmāya, who went to receive him. Go, therefore, came to know that the Emperor had gone on a hunt of a month's duration in the jungles of Kashmir and the Vaiṣṇaves became despaired of, but GO told them that ~~he~~ he would return before long.

GO saw some of the officers and was honoured by them. On the third day, after his (GO's) arrival in Kashmir, he went to see Asafkhan who was much pleased, as GO kept his word that he would even come to Kashmir to see the Emperor in connection with the order for the removal of mālā-tīlaka. Asafkhan advised GO that he ^(GO) should act according to what the Emperor said and that it was not irreligious if one removed the mālā for the time being. He said that the Emperor would be very much angry, if he (GO) did not act according to his (Emperor's) desire and would portend a great calamity. GO replied that he would act according to his conscience to maintain his religious stand and the officers need not fear any great calamity.

Jahangir returned before the appointed period and GO went to see him in the evening on the third⁴¹ day of the dark half of Ās'vina of 1677 V.S. Asafkhana informed the Emperor of GO's arrival and he (the Emperor) ordered to usher him in. GO saw and blessed the Emperor along with his nephew (sister's son) Madhūsūdana who presented to the Emperor two coco-nut fruits and nine Rupees.

41. Second day according Gopāldās,

Jahangir, then, asked GO why he had not removed the mālā, as desired by Cidrūpa. GO said that no scripture enjoins to remove it at any time. Jahangir demanded from why he gave in writing ~~that~~ that he would act according to the desires of Cidrūpa. GO said that he had believed that the ascetic would ask to act according to the S'astrie authorities and, therefore, he wrote that he would act according to what the ascetic said in accordance with the religious prescriptions; but he (the ascetic) asked to do what was against the scriptural prescriptions, and, therefore, he did not remove the mālā. Some officials advised him not to enrage the Emperor on that point, but GO was adamant on that point and during his talk with the Emperor should courage to say that he would not act against scriptural prescriptions.

Jahangir, then, said, "you may put on a necklace of pearls instead of that of ^{the} tulasī, or a mālā of rudrākṣa."

GO replied, "Our S'āstras enjoin us to put on ^{the} tulasī - mālā and not any other."

Then, he (GO) quoted some passages from the Mahābhārat and Bhāgavata etc. Jahangir, then, asked him to obey his (the Emperor's) word, if not of the ascetic. But GO said that he could

not do so,⁴² but would leave Gokul with all its riches at his (Emperor's) behest, for it was an act of adharma to remove ^{the} māla.

Cidrūpa had written to the Emperor that GO should be asked to leave Gokul, if he did not remove the tulasī-māla. So, Jahangir following the word of Cidrūpa, asked GO to give in writing that he would leave Gokul and go to Banāras. GO did so and went to his residence. The Emperor was surprised and was impressed ⁴³ to see that GO was prepared to leave all riches for the sake of a wooden māla. Later the Empress (i.e. Noor-Mohol), who heard the talk between the Emperor and GO said to the Emperor that she did not like that GO should be asked to go to Banaras. It is said that Jahangir,

42. Cf. सूबे इतकी उत फिरे पे माला उतारिये नांही -L.P.Parekh:

Māla Prasanga no sara P. 62. For details of Talk between Jahangir and GO, see the 17th to 19th taranghs of 8th Kallola of Kalyāna Bhatta.

43. Cf. देखो भाई दमडीकी माला के लिए एतनी कियो

सब कौउ कहे धर न छाडे, धर छाडेसे इन लिख दियो। -

This said Jahangir to his earls. - M.L.Gandhi's Life of GO. P.271.

then, modified his order and asked GO to stay at a nearby place he (GO) liked.

Before leaving Kashmir, GO went to see Asafkhan. He told him that if he (GO) went to Banaras, the ascetic would still create trouble and that he would go to Sūkār-kṣetra i.e. Soram if the Emperor allowed him to do so. Asafkhan said that the proposal was right and told him that one person be left there and that he would send the imperial order in a few days. Later, GO received the order from the Emperor, allowing him to stay at Soram.

After returning to Gokul, he consulted astrologers and decided to leave Gokul for Soram, on the fifth day of the bright half of Kārtika. (This reminds us of the migrations (hizarat) ^{of the farmers and} others on political and religious grounds). It was decided to encamp on some plateau to keep free from the dangers of floods in the Ganges. In the beginning there were many difficulties. There were dangers from the thieves and wild animals. Once, some thieves took away some oxen; but they were ultimately returned. At the instigation of Cidrūpa, the local officer forbade the merchants to sell anything to the Gosvāmī and his followers. Only one 'banīā' name Udham, sold them different things disguisingly. Later, Las'karkhan wrote to the local authorities not

to trouble GO, in those ways. In ^{the} meantime, Anantādas came from Kashmir with a letter from Jahangir, who allowed him to stay at Soram.

Jahangir returned from Kashmir after some time. One day, Noor-Mohol told him that he had done injustice to GO in asking him to leave Gokul. Besides, one faquir, too, told the Emperor that the ascetic was in the wrong and that he unnecessarily troubled GO who was on the right path. Once, it so happened that Jahangir toured the region of Mathura. He passed by a place, which, it was reported was the dwelling place of Cidrūpa. But Jahangir did not go to him. People gathered near Akrūra Ghāṭa and complained how the ascetic troubled them. Cidrūpa tried to turn the Emperor towards him by magic incantations, but he did not succeed. While passing through Gokul, he found that it was all without its previous splendour. He told Asafkhan that he should inform GO that he (GO) should see him (Jahangir) at Agra and then return to Gokul.⁴⁴ GO when informed, did accordingly and came back to Gokul after nearly 3½ months, on Wednesday, the tenth day of the dark half of ~~Shukla~~ Caitra. Both Gopāldās and Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa

44. Cf. अब तुम्हारी गोकुल तुमको मुबारक हो कह्युं तेह । -

- M.L. Gandhi's Life of GO. P. 307.

have described this event in a poetic style.

In this way, GO underwent all the troubles, and even left his dear Gokul and all property to maintain the Truth of his Dharma. It was like a passive resistance and a non-violent Satyāgrāhā. We find that GO acted very resolutely, but at the same time very cautiously and wisely and did not come in unnecessary conflict with the officers of high rank and impressed upon them that he was following the scriptural authorities. He was steadfast in his convictions and preferred risk to abandonment of his faith. It was a great risk to go against the imperial desire, but by his pious life and practical and patient ways, he won the hearts of most of the officers of the highest rank like Asafkhan and Lashkarkhan. And he ultimately made Jahangir, too, to understand the truth of his (GO's) stand. This event bespeaks his love for Dharma, his patience and courage, and his sense of renunciation. Consequently, this critical event gave a strong foothold to the Pustimārga, otherwise it might have got a set-back. It is truly a mile-stone in the history of Pustimārga.

This event brought great credit to GO and made him known as Mālā-prasaṅgavālā , as said above. It is possible that this might have attracted towards him many more followers and they might have begun to look upon him as God, for in those days, it was simply beyond imagination to disobey the word of an Emperor, and that too of Jahangir, known for his obstinacy, and his senior officials. Several compositions - eulogies, Kavits, etc. - are written to commemorate this event.⁴⁵

Shri M.C. Parekh, a non-sectarian writer, estimates the event as follows:

"Gokulnāth, the fourth son of Vitthalnāth was the ablest of all. By the time he came to maturity, the movement of Vallabha has established itself well in Western India, especially in Mevad, Marwar and Gujārata. It ^{was} now growing in size daily, a matter which caused much alarm to the Orthodox protagonists of the Vedic faith. There were many reasons for this keen antagonism towards it on the part of the leaders of orthodoxy. The church of Vallabha had, in the eyes of these, committed a grave offence by giving to the Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa the place of primacy among the scriptures It has also trespassed against

45. Vide Appendix 3.

Varnās'rama Dharma, the socio-religions hierarchy, by refusing to recognise the Brahmins and the Sannyāsi as superior to others

This antagonism found a powerful voice in the person of a Sannyāsin called Cidrūpa. He seems to have been a person of some importance, for ~~he~~ he had some influence at the court of Jahangir, the Emperor of Delhi.... This man was convinced of the heterodoxy of the new faith, and he had made it a mission of his life to root it out... For some time the danger to the church of Vallabha was so great that it made many people fear for its very existence. It was at this stage that Gokulnāth came forward and defied Cidrūpa to do his worst. He put new courage into the heart of the Vaisnavas, and went to see the Emperor himself as far as Kashmir, where the latter was, to seek his protection. Jahangir was well impressed by him and passed orders that the members of the new faith were to be allowed to profess and practise their faith with full freedom. The persecution ended thus with a victory for Gokulnatha. This was the first great crisis through which the new faith had to pass, and Gokulnāth. ~~This~~ ~~has~~ been looked upon ever since as its protector.

and Saviour."⁴⁶

(vii) Examination of the Event of Mālā-Prasaṅga:⁴⁷

People may entertain a doubt about the truth or the historicity of the event known as mālā-prasaṅga. One may even argue that Jahangir has referred to Cidrūpa in glorious terms in his diary, viz. Tuzuk - i - Jahangiri, while he has not written a single line about GO and the mālā-prasaṅga, and hence the event may be a fabrication by GO's enthusiastic followers. Again the event is nowhere mentioned in the histories written by the contemporary Muslim writers, nor a reference to it is found in any other works, excepting in those by the followers of GO and the Puṣṭimarga.

The above arguments do not carry enough weight. The diary or the memories of Jahangir is not a work, mentioning the day-to-day events of his life. And not all the events of his life are recorded in it. For example his meeting with Sir Thomas Roe is not noted in the Tuzuk. Again, he has mentioned Cidrūpa at two places in his diary. Later on, he never mentioned

46. M.C.Parekh's Shri Vallabhacharya (ed. 1943 A.D.)

P- 290 - 291.

47. The historicity of the event is examined in details by Shri Ramlal C. Modi - Vide his Lekhan-Samgraha, P.71.

his name. We find that Jahangir was not interested in the removal of ^{the} mālā by the Vaiṣṇavas as such, but he wanted to please the ascetic and see that his (Cidrūpaś) word was respected.

Moreover, it appears that no ordinance was promulgated by the Emperor, that all the Vaiṣṇavas should remove the mālā. Had it been so, Jahangir should have ordered GO to do so, when he (GO) went to see him at Sikri in the month of Falgun of 1675 V.S. He only asked his officers to see that they obey the word of the ascetic. The officers, big and small, knew that the Emperor was under the magic influence of the ascetic and, therefore, they tried to act according to his desire. Hence, GO asked the Kotwal Uderam to show the written order⁴⁸, of the Emperor, which they could not do. Besides, in the case of the Gosvāmīs, the officers could not use force, because they were honoured by the rulers, past and present, and had with them the Imperial Firmans⁴⁹ granting them certain powers and rights of incomes etc.

48. See foot-note - 38.

49. Vide "Imperial Firmans" edited by Shri K.M.Zaveri

Had there been any imperial order as regards the removal of the māḷā by the Vaiṣṇavas, it should have been throughout the empire and there might have been a great uproar, at least in some quarters. So, it is quite safe to surmise that Cidrūpa, having great influence over the Emperor, asked the officers to force the Vaiṣṇavas to remove the māḷā. It is also to be noted that this happened only in the region of Mathura, that is, round about the residence of Cidrūpa and not throughout the division or the country. Naturally no mention of such an event is found in the literature of the school of Caitanya⁵⁰, whose seat is Vrīndāvana, which is very near to Mathura. This fact explained why historians do not take note of it.

The event, therefore, might not have received any attention outside the Vaiṣṇava world of the district of Mahāvana. Besides, Jahangir himself, ultimately, understood the impropriety of his stand, he and his begums had respect for the Gosvāmīs, and, therefore, he might not have mentioned the event in his diary, nor did any muslim

50. In this matter, I have consulted Gosvāmī Anantdās of Vrīndāvana, who is one of the learned Gosvāmīs of Caitanya-seat.

writer write about it, as it was derogatory to Jahangir.

But the event created a great panic among the Puṣṭimārgīya Vaiṣṇavas, for it was for them a question of Dharma, and was an encroachment on their religious freedom. Quite naturally, therefore, the Puṣṭimārgīyas consider the event to be a milestone in the history of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga, and the Vaiṣṇava writers, particularly the followers of GO, narrate the event in detail and in eulogistic terms. Other writers, either Hindus or Muslims, keep silent over the event, because, for them it carried no significance and again because it did not touch the whole country.

There is enough proof to show that GO did go to Kashmir at the call of the Emperor. As noted above, he went to Kashmir in 1677 V.S. i.e. 1621 A.D. Historical records say that the Emperor went to Kashmir in that year.⁵¹ Secondly, the description of the long journey of 444 Kos'as and the halts at different places, as mentioned in the Mālloddhāra and the eighth Kallola, are quite correct from the geographical point of view. Thirdly, that GO went to Soram, is proved by the fact there is a seat (Bethaka)

51. Vide Tuzuk - i - Jahangiri Vol. II P.101 (Ed. by A. Rogers)

of GO at Soram, and the followers of GO visit the place with great faith as it is connected with Mālā-prasāṅga. Forthly, both Mālāddhāra and the Kallola are not written many years after the event took place, but within 25 years after the event happened,⁵² and the details of the event, with the mention of different persons and places, given by both the writers are too many and too varied to show the event a fabrication. It is difficult to believe that both the authors took scrupulous care to fabricate the event. So, we can say that such an edifice of the Mālā-prasāṅga as described by Gopāladāsa and Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa could not be built on only a hearsay or on utter falsehood. The event, therefore, is an historical one and not a fabrication. Otherwise, Harirāyaji and others would not have referred to GO as the protector of Mālā⁵³. We cannot fling away the event as unhistorical, only because contemporary historians did not take note of it.

The following statement says that the event could not have taken place during the reign of Jahangir : -

52. Vide Venunāda - Vol. I - 6 - P.152

53. Vide Appendix - 3.

माला प्रसंगे का जो उल्लेख संप्रदाय में मिलता है, इसका उल्लेख जहांगीर से संबंध रखनेवाले किसी ग्रंथ में नहीं है। और जहांगीर की उदार नीतियों इसका मेल भी नहीं बैठता है। ऐसा लगता है कि यह प्रसंग शाहजहां के राज्यरोहण के बाद का होई क्यों कि उसीने पुराने मंदिरों के जीर्णोद्धार को रोक दिया था। शाहजहांका समय सं १६५५ से १७१५ तक है और श्री गोकुलनाथजी की उपस्थिति स्वतः १६७७ की बख्त बताई जाती है। किंतु सं० १६७७ (सन् १६२०) में जहांगीरका शासन शान्तिपूर्ण ढंगसे चल रहा था, केवल (सन् १६२१) सं० १६७८ में जहांगीरने विद्रोह किया था और वह बख्तरे होकर दिल्ली गया था। यह घटना उस समय की हो सकती है, जिसका संबंध जहांगीर से जोड़ना अनुचित है। सन् १६२१ - २३ तक शाहजहां ने सारे उत्तर भारत की शांति भंग कर दी थी।⁵⁴

The above arguments are not right. Some of the dates are ~~also~~ also wrong. For example, the period of Shah Jahan's reign is 1627 - 1657 A.D. i.e. 1683 to 1714-15 V.S. and not 1685 - 1715 V.S. The Mālā-prasaṅga has nothing to do with the political upheaval. Jahangir himself has noted about Cid rūpa in ^{his} memoirs and he went to Kashmir in 1620 - 21 A.D., in which year (1677 V.S.) GO went to see him. It is baseless to put the event during the reign of Shah Jahan.

(viii) Gokulanāthajī and the poet Akho of Gujarat

Derogatory remarks against GO and the Pustimarga are found in some of the books on the History of Gujarati Literature.⁵⁵ The opportunity of disparagement rests solely on a stanza, written by a Gujarati poet Akho (Circa 1615 - 1674 A.D. according to K.M. Munshi and Circa 1519-1656 A.D. according to Umashanker Joshi), which is as follows:

ગુરુ કર્યા મેં ગોકુલનાથ ઘરડા વઢ્ઢને ધાલી નાથ,
 ગુરુએ મુજને ધાલીનાથ, (૫૨.)
 નગુરા મનને ધાલીનાથ, (૫૨.)
 ધન હરે ધોકો નવ હરે, એ ગુરુ ગું કલ્યાણ કરે ?
 ગુરુ થઈ બેઠો હોસિ કરી કંઠે પહાણ શકે કેમ તરી?

55. Vide K.M.Zaveri's Gujarati Sahityanā Mārga-Sūchaka Stambho P-72 - 73: ગોકુલના ગોકુલનાથજી મહારાજને લરા સ્વરૂપે ઓઢાવણાં કહે છે :

ગુરુ કર્યા મેં ગોકુલનાથ,

... .. કંઠે પહાણ શકે કેમ તરી?

and the footnote as regards another reading

એમાંથી કટાક્ષ મદશ્ય થઈ જાય છે ।

See also K.M.Munshi's Gujarat and its literature, P.130 and જુનું નર્મગદ્ય - P.458, and G.M.Tripathi's Classical poets of Gujarat P-32.

This stanza is first found in **जुनुं नर्मगद्य** (P-458). There are various accounts of the journey of Akho to different places of pilgrimage. In one account⁵⁶ it is stated that Akho went to Jaipur and stayed there with the Gosvāmī. He was not satisfied with him as there were no religious preachings and philosophical discussions. Then he went to Kashi and while returning to Ahmedabad, he visited in Jaipur ~~and~~ a Mahārāja, son of GO, with a view to testing his knowledge, but was not given entrance. It is said that he wrote the above stanza to show the evil conduct of the Gosvāmīs.

This account is quite baseless, for GO never visited Northern Rajasthan and during GO's mundana existence, there was no Pustimārgīya temple in Jaipur alias Amer.

Shri Umashanker Joshi has examined his incident of Akho's life in his valuable and learned work, named, Akho: A study (in Gujarati).⁵⁷ He has pointed out that the line in question (**गुरु कर्षा...**) is found in **प्रपंच अंग** of Akho and the following lines (**धन हरे.....**) are not found in that

56. Vide Umashanker Joshi: Akho a study (Guj.)P.22.

57. Vide Chapter - I.

work⁵⁸. The work **प्रपंच अंग** was written in self-introspection and self-despise,⁵⁹ and there is no intention of despising either GO or ^{the} Puṣṭimārga. It was Kavi Narmadashankar, probably, who first wrote about Akho. His dislike for the Puṣṭimārga, Vaisnava Mahārājas and their followers is quite well known. I think, he took the opportunity to belittle the sect, with quotations from Akho. But it still remains a question how the linesधन हरे ६०... etc. came to be connected with the line गुरु कर्मा... etc.

58. Akho : A study. P. 33. Also see what Dr. N. A. Thoothi, has stated: "... it lays the ~~blame~~ blame on Gokulanāthajī. But the version is not documented and is, therefore, altogether discredited - Vaisnavas of Gujarat, P. 238, footnote No. 5.

59. Akho: A study, P. 26, एमां गुरुने उतारी पाडवा करतां पीताने उतारी छाडवा जेवुं विशेष तोछे. Also see Umashanker

Joshi's Akhānā Chappā - P - 11 - 22. आखं प्रपंच अंग तो गुरुजीना प्रपंच अंगे नथी, पण वाक्प्रपंच अंगे छे. ए संदर्भ जीखां गुरु गोकुलनाथने उतारी पाडवाना

60. These lines are found in Jada-Bhakti-Aṅga. आ प्रपंच अंगमा प्रसंग ज नथी।

Vide Akhānā -Chappā (Ed. U. Joshi) P. 300.

The question of the meeting of GO and Akho, can be examined from another angle, viz. whether Akho went to Gokul and whether he wrote the lines गुरु कर्मा..... etc. and also the lines व्रण महापुरुष ने चौथी आप ⁶¹ etc. The works on the life of GO report that he visited Gujarat in V.S. 1646-47, and he stayed at Anārvā for a considerable time. Now, the date of Akho is uncertain. On the basis of the stanza गुरु कर्मा... and the date mentioned in Akhā-Gītā, which is 1705 V.S., Shri Umashankar Joshi says ⁶² that Akho's period would be roughly 1647 - 1710 V.S. So, his meeting with GO in 1647 V.S. seems improbable. No work by any of the Vaisṇava writers mention Akho's contact with GO. But that cannot lead us to state that Akho never went to Gokul and met GO. On the otherhand, Akho's statement ⁶³ is quite clear on that point. One can doubt the genuineness of the stanza गुरु कर्मा..... But we find that Shri Umashankar Joshi has edited प्रपंच अंग after

61. व्रण महापुरुष ने चौथी आप, जेहेनो न थाये देदे थाप,
अखे उरमंतर लीयो जाण, तयारपछी उघडी मुज बाण ।

- U. Joshi's Akho : A study - P.27.

62. Ibid - P.71

63. Cf. पछे गुरु करवाने गोकुल गयो..... (No.167)-
-Akhānā Chappā - P. 32.

consulting eight MSS⁶⁴, most of which contain the stanza in question; and we have no any other authority to disprove the fact that the stanza is from Akho's pen.

The fact, in these circumstances, remains that Akho might have met GO in Gokul and been initiated in ^{He} Puṣṭimārga by him. It is possible that he might have practiced the Puṣṭimārgīya bhakti⁶⁵ for considerable time, but his soul might not have been satisfied with the mode of worship. But that does not mean that he was disparagingly critical of ^{He} Puṣṭimārga, as some books in Gujarati Literature note. If it was so, why did he write the stanza व्रण महापुरुष ने चौथो ज्ञाप, which quite categorically points out that he had full respect for the three Ācāryas? It appears that the influence of Bhaktimārga was deep-rooted⁶⁶ in his mind and he has recommended Bhakti⁶⁷, of course Nirguṇa, instead of Saguṇa Bhakti, as the

64. Vide Akhānā Chappā P.148.

65. The following stanza has an autobiographical touch:

तिलक करतां त्रेपन बह्यां, जपमालानां नाकां गयां,

तीरथ करी करी थाक्या चरण, तोय न पहील्या हरिने शरण।

-Akho: A Study, P.65

66. (See next page for foot-note No.66).

67. Vide जीवईश्वर अंग, भक्ति अंग, (P.36, P.42)-Akhānā Chappā.

step to Highest Bliss.

(ix) Personality :

Inner mettle of GO was tested in the mālā-prasaṅga and he came out with laurels. But it was not only on that account that he became great. It was his exceptional virtues that made him great. He was learned but humble. Followers flattered him like anything, but he was not puffed up. He was generous enough to bear alone the burden of the debt of his father. He was selfless enough to give up his own comforts for the sake of others. He did not hesitate to give away his handsome horse Nayanasukh to his nephew Muralīdhara, and gave his shoes to his brother Bālakṛṣṇa, when he could not walk.⁶⁸

66. Read:- "On the other hand, an examination, at least of his Akhāṭī, the authenticity of which is unquestionable leads us reasonably to assume, not however without some difficulties which may be traceable to the mixed personality of Akhā, that the whole book gives an exposition of, and depends, more or less entirely on, the scriptures of the Vallabhi School. On the whole, the poem is a rosary of pure pearls of Vaiṣṇavite excellence, with the permissible sprinkling of a few stray stones which may be traced to the Vedānta of S'aṅkarācārya .." Dr. N.A. Thoothi's *Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarat* (Ed.1935) P.240.

68. See Foot-note No.19 and also M.L.Gandhi's *Life of GO*: P.191.

He was an erudite scholar, but he preached more of practical side of religion than philosophical. It appears that he read most of the Vedic and Smṛti literature of his time, namely, Upaniṣads, Smṛtis and Purāṇas, quotations from which are found extensively in his works. He was particularly a master of, he almost drank and digested, the Bhāgavata and the Subodhīnī. He had a good command over Saṁskṛt language and wrote well in the Bhāṣya style,⁶⁹ as well as the simple Vṛitti style. It is stated that he knew well the Vedic accents.⁷⁰ But finding that very few people understood Saṁskṛt, he chose to teach through the popular dialect, viz. Vraja-Bhāṣa. Most of his writings in Saṁskṛt are the commentaries on the works of his father and his grandfather whose doctrines he has well interpreted. In his teachings in Vraja-bhāṣa, particularly in the ~~varṇas~~ Vartās and Vacanāmṛtas, he is original. He was a poet, too, as reported by some authors like Giridharajī (1854 - 1933 V.S.), but hardly a few padas and ślohas have come to be known as his composition.

69. Vide his commentaries on 'Asmat Kulamī' and Gāyatrī Bhāṣya and the long commentary on ^{the} Savottama Stotra.

70. Cf. ते अक्षर स्वर मात्रा चूके तो तेने कर नीसाने करी बरजे ।

- तत्त्वार्थ दोहन : - Anugraha Vol. 14 P.417.

It appears that he did not shine out as a good poet.⁷¹

Whenever philosophical and religious discussions were demanded from him, he never hesitated. He was always prepared to discuss, the importance of ^{the}mālā and ^{the}tilaka, with Cidrūpa, but the latter did not show any inclination for it. While in Gujarat, he had opportunities to talk on philosophical problems at Surat and Ahmedabad⁷². When he was in Kashmir, one pandit visited him and found pleasure in philosophical discussions with him. It is reported that the pandit presented two works Viṣṇu-Dharmottara and Vyākaraṇa - Sāra to GO.⁷³

He had great love for cows and prized them as his supreme wealth. When he left Gokul for Soram, in accordance with his talk with Jahangir, he did not miss to take his cows with him. When Puruṣottamaśāstra told him that only a few cows might be taken, he said that cows would come with him wherever he went.⁷⁴ And while returning

71. Vide Chapter II (c)

72. Vide P. 14 & 15, this chapter.

73. Vide M.L.Gandhi's Life of GO, P.233.

74. Vide foot-note No.6.

to Gokul from Soram, he travelled slowly, so that the cows and their calves might not get tired.

S'rī VT, his father, had great love for and confidence in him, for he saw in GO, The future Ācārya.⁷⁵ He advised his other sons to follow his fourth son, viz. Vallabha alias GO. In many of his letters, therefore, it is found that S'rī VT adds S'rī to Vallabha.⁷⁶ It is said that many times VT gave his works to GO for review and necessary changes; and when GO found them alright, he (VT) placed them in public. He was a faithful interpreter of S'uddhādvaita Puṣṭimārga and, therefore, he wrote commentaries on the works of VL & VT and as such he was fully qualified to be a right preacher of ^{He} Puṣṭimārga, which is evinced in his works.

75. S'rī VT once said to Cācā Harivanis'a:

कहा तुम्हारी ओर की हूँ अरु एतन मारग साथ ।

मेरी ओर श्रीनाथजी की दोरी इन के हाथ ॥

-- Prākātya Siddhānta St.107

76. Once while S'rī VT and GO were going to some place, a disciple held an umbrella over the head of S'rī VT, but S'rī VT said that it should be held over Vallabha i.e. GO - Read: कहा धरत मोही उपर धर श्री वल्लभ के शीश । - Ibid - St. 114.

He was a good administrator and a kind care-taker of the Vaisnavas and ascetics. Whenever any Vaisnava came to him, he took personal interest in his affairs and saw that all his comforts and conveniences were attended to. There are various incidents, which bespeak for his affection for the Bhāgavadiyas. When he was on journey to Gujarat and Kashmir, there were several people, followers as well as servants with him. He entrusted everyone with some duty but at the same time always inquired after their health and comforts. Once during journey to Kashmir, Sundardās Sulkanpuri could not take off the nose-bag of the horse, but he did not scold him and took it out himself. Once a servant beat Girdhar Darji for no fault of his, and when GO came to know about it, he dismissed him because he ill-treated a Vaisnava. Similarly, he welcomed Chatura Nāgā and other ascetics, while on the way to Kashmir, and arranged for their meals. During journey he asked all to be temperate in food and drink and sleep and he too, acted in the same way. Another example is this: at Soram it so happened that the servants did not get burning wood and so he himself went out for collecting wood in chill cold. He thought very highly of the Bhāgavadiyas⁷⁷ and looked upon them as his self,

77. Cf. महदंतः करणमिव प्रमाणम् । - - -Tattvārthadohana
(Anugraha Vol.10)P.338.

and taught his followers to do the same. In many of his nectar-precepts (Vacanāmṛtas), he has said that we should never ill-treat a Bhagavadiya and should have the same love for him as we have for the Lord. He kept Manikchand Kṣatri (a disciple of S'ri Vṛ) with him after the passing away of S'ri Vṛ and always held him in high respect. Once the servants of the Nija-mandir (bhitaridā) gave him dung covered with cooked rice, because they had to wait for him on many occasions. When GO came to know of this incident, he dismissed all those servants, who were the Sachora Brahmins. Even to this day, the Sachora Brahmins are not kept in the ^{temple} Seva in Gokul.⁷⁸ This shows his sense of justice to and love for the Vaiṣṇavas. When he visited Gujarat, he found how the Gujarati Vaiṣṇavas loved him, and, therefore, he used to say that it was his good luck to have the opportunity

78. Vide Hariharnāth Tandan: Vartā-Sāhitya, P.305((foot-note)

to see such Bhagvatīyas.⁷⁹ Similarly, one incident noted in a MS (Hindi No. 101/1, in Kārikaroli Vidya Vibhāga) of 1746 V.S. informs that he read the stories of the Vaiṣṇavas with great reverence and when he could not read them, he touched the work to his eyes with great faith.

Two incidents of GO's life are noted in the ^{Bhakti-}Māla of Nābhādāsa (Circa - 1640 V.S.):

79. Cf. उहाँ लो जानी भयो, नहीं तो बहोरि पश्चात्ताप रहे तो
एसे भगवदीयकुं कैसे देखते, ऐसे ऐसे भगवदीय को दर्शन भयो जे
कहा कहीए । - - Gopāldās - Rasika-rasa-Anugraha
Vol. IV, P. 381 - Also read: - एक बार वागनें
प्रसंगे। आगरे श्री विठ्ठलरायजी नें गोपालजी गया हुता।। त्यांहांथी
आवीनें श्री महाप्रभुजीने नमस्कार करयो।। त्यारे श्री करुणासमुद्र
अति दयालुमें पूछूं जे ।। वैष्णव सब साथ आये थे वा(२) कह्युं जे ।।
वैष्णवकुं तो छोड के हम आगे आये।। वैष्णव पाछें ते आवेगे ।।
त्यार परमउदार राज बीत्या जे ।। वैष्णवकुं छोड आये तो ले
कहा आये ।। प्रसंग ३ ।। - - - - -

- - - - - A MS of Vachnāmṛts belonging to Shri
Chimanlal M. Vaidya.

...lll...

गुसाई गोकुलनाथजी के पास एक धनीने लाखों रुपये भेंट देनेके लिए लाकर विनय किया कि 'मुझे शिष्य किजिए'। आपने उससे पूछा कि 'किस वस्तु में तुम्हारी विशेष प्रीति या आसक्ति है।' उसने उत्तर दिया कि 'किसी में नहीं।' आपने कहा कि जब तुममें प्रीतिका बीज ही नहीं, तो मैं तुम्हें शिष्य नहीं कर सकता, यदि किसीमें प्रेम होता तो उसे मोड़ कर श्रीशोभाधामके चरणों में लगा दिया जाता।⁸⁰

कान्हा नामक एक भंगी मंदिर के बाहर झाड़ू लगाया करता था और सामने से श्रीनाथजीका दर्शन कर प्रेममें मग्न हुआ करता था।

सबकी दृष्टि बालक (ठाकुरजी) पर न पड़े इस लिए आपने एक भीत (दिवार) खिंचवा दी। दर्शन न पानेसे कान्हा विकल हुआ। श्री ठाकुरजीने तीन रात बराबर स्वप्न में आज्ञा की कि 'गोकुलनाथ से कह कि यह भीत गिरवा दें।' कान्हाजी आपसे तो विनय नहीं कर सके, पर किसीसे कह दिया। जब गौसाईजीने उससे पूछा, तब उसने सब वार्ता कही। आप प्रेममें डूबे, कान्हा को कृपा पात्र जहन हृदयसे लगा लिया और नई भीत गिरवा दी क्यों कि उससे स्वप्नका प्रमाण मिला। प्रेम की ग्राहकता की जय, प्रेमियों की जय।⁸¹

80. Vide Hariharnath Tandan: Vārtā Sahitya - P.482:

Quoted from Bhakta-māla Kavī - 519-21 आयो
कौठ शिष्य.....दरेगी।- It is^{als} said that this

incident happened in the life of S'ri VT.

81. This incident is also reported in the S'ri
Goverdhananāthjīkī Prakatya Vārtā.

The first incident shows that GO knew well the psychology of love: unless the feeling of love has not dawned at all in human heart, how can he love anything or any person? This also shows his selflessness and absence of avariciousness, for he did not accept a millionaire as his disciple. The second incident shows how he loved the devotees, the Bhagavātyas.

He was an efficient swimmer and a good horse-rider. During journey he rode a horse. When he went to Gujarat, he rode the horse Cañicala. He used to go for a stroll on horse-back. His courage as a swimmer can be seen from the incident, when, at the age of nine, he rescued a merchant's horse from a swift current of a river.⁸²

His physical personality is described by his disciples in many eulogies (Stotras). It is stated that his was a magnificent and attractive physique.⁸³ He resembled his father Vṛ in points

82. Vide M.L.Gandhi's Life of GO - P.164 and Haridās's Viraha-gītā : नचावे विविधप्रकारे पश्य शुं..... etc

83. Cf. भव्यभूतये नमः। - Harirāyaji: Gokules'anāmāvalī, Anugraha Vol. 15, No. 11 - 12, P. 5.

of physique and nature and moral virtues.⁸⁴

Generally he wore a 'dhoti' and a cotton shawl (Uttariya). He kept a long hair reaching the hips.⁸⁵ He was wearing ear-ring and tying flower-weaths on the braids of hair. His complexion was a little blackish.⁸⁶ It was his habit to chew ^{betel-}beetle leaves throughout the day.

He was a great guru and teacher. He had both the qualities of a good teacher : vast knowledge and the manner of imparting it; both (Kriyā) and saṅkrānti in the words of Kālidāsa.⁸⁷ The Vacanāmṛta literature speaks volumes for his capacity

84. Cf. ताततणो प्रतिबिंब रे... Gopāldās, Navākhyāna No.9 and .ताततुल्य स्वभावस्थो... Anugraha Vol.15, 11-12, P.4.

85. Cf. चौकीए बैठा भोमे स्पर्शे, एहवा दीरघ कौश। - Gopāldās: Gujarata - Gamana - Līlā : XIII - 76 (Anugraha XV - P.411)

86. Cf. गोधूम मेचक मनोहर वणदिहो - Harirāyaji : - Gokules'astaka St. 7.

87. Cf. शिष्टा क्रिया कस्यचिदात्म संस्था, संक्रान्तिरन्य विशेषयुक्ता। - Kālidāsa: Mālavikāgnimītra-I-3.

~~I-3 (Gopāldās - Navākhyāna 7).~~

as a teacher. He generally followed catechismal method, instead of lecturing method. Generally, he sat surrounded by disciples in the afternoon and at night and religious discourses went on; they even put to him questions when he was taking bath or when he was out for a stroll or when he was engaged in massage. He never kept himself at a distance from his followers. He was a mine of information and anecdotes, religious and worldly, and taught religious and philosophical doctrines with apt illustrations and with humour. ~~It is due to him that~~ ^{His} the Vārtā - literature (84 and 252 Vārtās, Nija - Vārtā, Bhāva - Sindhu etc.) ~~because~~ became popular; and no one will deny that this literature has become very useful to the Vaiṣṇavas for fixity of religious fervour (भक्तवृत्ति) . He always laid stress on both Nāma-Sevā and Śvarūpa-sevā and practised it in his own life.⁸⁸

He was a master of Bhāgavata and its commentary Subodhinī as is evinced by his Badī-Tīkā. He followed the footsteps of his father and grandfather and became instrumental in the propagation and consolidation of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga. It would not be an exaggeration to state that S'rī VL laid the foundation

(- Navāthyāna no. 7)

88. Cf. आप सेवा करी शीखे श्रीहरि... ..is also true of G.O.

^{MC} of Pustimārga. S'rī VT built an extensive structure on it and GO developed and protected it. He was one of the true exponents of ~~Pustimārg~~ ^{He} Pustibhakti, whose basis is the grace of the Lord, the doctrine of Prameya, and preached that Lord's sevā is the prime duty of a Vaisnava, and all other activities and traditions, either Vedic or worldly, are subordinate to it. He himself acted accordingly.^{89(a)} But he did not ignore Vedic or Smṛti injunctions. He did sevā himself and whenever^{89(b)} he was out, he instructed his relatives and servants to be careful in the performance of sevā. One incident bespeaks his love for the Lord. When the creditors stopped the

89(a) Kollala XII - Taraṅga 3 states how he himself collected valuable articles (यानि यानि सुवर्णस्य मञ्जूति^{रत्नस्य} वा) and put in a box and went to bed after fully satisfying himself/^{that} everything was alright. Read : -

प्रस्थापिते प्रोक्त^Aत्वा श्रीनाथे भगवानयम्।

दीपमादाय गेहस्य, परिभ्रमति सर्वतः ।

निरीक्ष्य सर्वनिर्दोषं निष्कण्टक मधीश्वरः।

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

दृढीकृत्य भूषं द्वारे मुख्ये दत्त्वा च तालकं

श्रीमता पाणिकेन गुह्यित्वा तस्य कुचिकां।

तत्रैव इक्षति श्रीमान् उच्छलद्भावधूषितः ॥

- Kallolā XII - 3.

89(b) Cf. त्रिवारसंध्यावन्दनाय नमः।- Harirāyaji:

Gokules'anāmāvatī.

Rājabhoga of S'rī Navanītaprīyājī, he was much pained to see it and did not take meals. He assured the creditors that he would pay off the debts and there was no hindrance to the sevā of S'rī Navanītaprīyājī. He taught, therefore, that a Vaisṇava^s should not incur debt for the Lord's sevā, and should do it within ^{his} ~~their~~ means^{89(c)}. He used to say that ^{the} Puṣṭimārga accepted all people in its fold, irrespective of caste or social status and initiated into ^{the} Puṣṭimārga even low caste people, in the manner of his father. He set an example of nobility of character by practising himself the virtues like generosity and self-denial, tolerance and temperance, Bhāgavat-sevā and Nāma-sevā. He liked music and employed musicians for the kirtana-sevā. In one of the padas, Dharmadāsa says that सारंगीके प्रताप ते पायी गोकुलनाथ ।... 90. These virtues of his attracted many Vaisṇavas from different parts of India, but mostly from Gujarat.

89(c). Cf. असमर्थं द्रव्यं होय तो मूठी छोला समारोने आगला राखवा, ए मारगकर्ता श्री आचार्यजीनुं सिदांत छे। माटे ए सीते भावपूर्वक सेवा करवी। - - - -

Gopaldas: Tattvārthadhōhana: Anugraha XIV - P.359.

90. Hariharnāth Tandan: Vārtā-sāhitya P.290 & Read:

सारंगीनाथप्रसाद नमः । - Harirājās S'rī Gokulesa Nāmāvali.

Some of his followers, later called Bharuci Vaisnavas, began to look upon him, even during his life-time, as the Highest God, and depicted him as such in their works, but he was very humble and taught them that the Lord is supreme.⁹¹ Mahāvādāsa goes to the extent of saying that the svarūpa of GO is the same as Lord Kṛṣṇa.⁹² These Vaisnavas have

91. Cf. मदीयाः मां पुरुषोत्तमं निश्चित्य भजन्ते तेन किं प्रकटित शुद्धपुष्टिभक्ति मार्गाचार्याणां प्रसन्नता सिध्यति ? न कदापीति। - सर्वोत्तमस्तोत्र - बढीटिका - विबुधेश्वर इति नामोपरि।
Also note the incident noted in ^{the Tattvasamgraha.} ~~एक~~ वली एक समय
महाभाष्यवान मोहनभाईजी गोकुलभाईजी श्रीगोकुलमां नवा घर बंधाव्यां त्यां श्रीजीने त्यां पधारवानी विनती कीधी, त्यारे श्रीजीए पुष्ट्युं जे "तुमारो ठाकुर वा गरमं पधारायो हे" त्यारे एणे विनती कीधी जे "ना राज, प्रथम राज प्रधारो पछी सेवा पधारवीशुं.॥" त्यारे आज्ञा दीधी जे "ना यों नहि. पहेले तमारे ठाकुरकु पधारवो पछी में पधारूंगो।"

-Anugraha - XIV - P.361.

92. Cf. जे ज्ञासादा सुत यथा जने चारी ब्रजमांहां गाय ॥

ते श्रीविठ्ठल सुत हवा, श्रीगोकुलराय ॥

- Rasakos'a XVI - 146 (unpublished)

and मो नंदगेहे ब्रजसुंदरीणां कामावतारो नयनान्नाभिरामः।

शिक्ष्य दध्यादिके चौर एव श्रीवत्सभोऽयं रमते ब्रजेशः॥

- Vallabhagīta, canto V - Pustī-sūdhā Vol.5.

No.7 - 8.

written in details about his ~~Voluntine~~ (nitya-caritra) and also about his physical personality⁹³. Much of these descriptions appears to have a tinge of exaggeration, but they give us an idea of his daily routine right from rising up to going to bed, how he bathed, wore clothes, did sevā, taught his children, etc. Vallabh-gītā of Mahāvādāsa describes in details his face, hair, feet, fame, virtues etc. One may not find all this literature in good taste, but it proves the fact that these followers⁹⁴ had immense love for GO and that they found supreme blissⁱⁿ his company.

Harirāyaji (who is, by no means, a blind follower) and Kṛṣṇarāya (GO's sister's son) and others have written aṣṭakas and nāmāvalīs⁹⁵ in praise

93. Vide Gokules'aṣṭaka by Harirāyaji and also Mahāvādāsa's B Vallabhagītā and Vallabhacaritra and Gopaldāsa's Tattvārthadohana and Nityacaritra by several writers.

94. The Vallabha-Ratna-Rasāṭīya-Bhakta-Raja (Unpublished) (dated Magha S'ukla Pañcāmī of 1733 V.S.) of Vallabhadās and Suraji Bhārgava has given the list of the followers of GO with their names and native places. Their number was in 1733 V.S. was nearly five thousand.

95. Vide Anugraha Vol.15 No.11 & 12.

of GO, which fact proves that he must have been a very popular and brilliant Gosvāmī. Shri M.C. Parekh, a disinterested and non-sectarian author ~~who~~ writes:

"Gokulanath, besides being a man of action, was something of an original religion teacher. In this matter, the mantle of his father and grandfather had fallen on his shoulders. Besides winning a victory over the opponents of his faith, he did much to consolidate it in many ways he carried further the work of his father and helped much in the spread of the movement. So outstanding was his personality that he has been considered the third great leader of the church by its followers.

Gokulnath, had six brothers, three of whom were older than himself and three younger. By his talents, strength of character and high spirituality, he overshadowed all of them easily, and the leadership of the church may well have rested with him especially as the times were stormy and the movement was going through persecution. This resulted in many Vaisnavas looking upon him as the only true successor of his father..."⁹⁶

96. M.C. Parekh: Shri Vallabhacharya, P.292 & 300. Also read Bombay Gazetteer Vol.IX: "Vittalnath died in A.D.1583 at the age of ninety, leaving seven sons, sāt-svarup, each of whom established a separate seat or Gādī. Of them the most distinguished for learning and tact was the fourth son Gokulnathji."

He was very much respected and consulted by the generation next to his. Harirāyaji, grandson of his elder brother Govindarāyaji, was initiated by him (GO) and has written stotras in praise of GO. Younger Gosvāmīs turned to him whenever some disputes arose. Such an incident is as follows:

Dwārkes'aji of the 'Third House', did not give Madhusūdanji of the 'Sixth House' his personal deity (Sevya Svarūpa), and the dispute was taken to GO, who said that it would bring discredit to their family if a suit was filed in the court and he persuaded Dwārkes'aji to part with Bālakṛṣṇaji, the Sevya Svarūpa of Madhusūdanji.

God has six qualities: ais'varya, Vīrya, Śrī, Yas'as, Jñāna and Vairāgya. GO is said to be the yas'as-svarūpa of God, whose other qualities are dormant in him.

(x) Last days of his Life:

It appears that no note-worthy incident, after Māla-prasaṅga, took place in his after-life. Life was, then, usual and peaceful. He enjoyed himself in Bhagavat-sevā and teaching his followers religious doctrines and practices. It is possible that he might have written certain works during this last phase of life.

...121...

A MS, in the sarasvatī Bhandāra of Kāṅkarolī (Hindi Section No.101-1), dated 1746 V.S. gives an account⁹⁷ ~~that~~ of an event in GO's life.

Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa of Ujjain had asked his son to send a MS (a pothī that he had written himself) to GO. That pothī contained, it appears, some incidents of 84 and 252 Vārtās, and GO conceived great reverence for it. So he always read it. It also tells us that after many years^{had} passed, he could not read ~~that~~ ~~it~~ it, but touched it to his eyes with the same reverence. This leads us to surmise that in the after-life, GO might have lost his eyesight or his eyes might have been too weak to read anything. In the beginning, he put the pothi himself in the trunk and locked it, but later he asked his son Viṭṭhalarāyaji to do so. Hence probably his eyes might have been too~~k~~ weak. But it should be noted that no any other work on the life of GO speaks of it, excepting a reference⁹⁸ made by Giridharaji Mahārāja. The birth-day of GO known in the sect as Mahā-utsava began to be celebrated by the followers with great pomp from 1691 or 1692 V.S. and onwards and several

97. Vide Chapter III(b)(ii) for the relevant quotation.

98. Cf. "श्री गोकुलनाथजीकुं नेत्रबल थोडो हुतो"। -

- Giridharaji's 120 Vacanāmṛtas - P.80.

works describe its celebration, e.g. Sāta S'obhana of Haridāsbhai, describing it, were sung in the presence of GO, himself. Similarly, a big work, named Svarūpānubhava-mahā-utsava, having 113 maṅgalas, describes the celebration in details, where GO's rising, sitting, going, etc., (himself without any help from others) are described, but there is no reference to the loss of the eyes ~~is made~~. Bhakta - Bhāvārtha of Gopāladāsa refers to his ill-health, but does not refer to the loss of his eyes. It is possible that he did not read that pothi, but touched it to his eyes, because he read it several times. So, the description in question does not conclusively prove that GO had lost eyes during his last days.⁹⁹

He passed away from this mortal world on the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Māgha of 1697 V.S., living a long and purposeful life of 89 years. His end was a great shock to his close

99. Shri Din Dayāl Guptā has noted in the footnote on page No.137 of his thesis Aṣṭachhāpa Aūra Vallabha Sampradāya, on the strength of a statement by Shri Kanṭha Mani Shastri that Shri GO lost his eyes in his after-life. But as noted above no conclusive proof about it is available.

disciples, so much so that some of his disciples, known as 78 Bhagavadiyas,¹⁰⁰ died out of the pangs of separation from him, taking either poison or drowning || themselves in rivers or ponds.

He has left an indelible impression as a Gosvāmī in the History of the Puṣṭīmārga, more as its interpreter and 'consolidator'. India considers Manhood greater than Godhood. The great Vyāsa declared in the Mahābhārata that - - - - -
- गुह्यं ब्रह्म तदिदं वो ब्रवीमि, न मानुषात् श्रेष्ठतरं हि -
किञ्चित् ।¹⁰¹ - - - - - (I tell you the top secret, that nothing is greater than Man.) Disciples of GO raised him to the pinnacle of Godhood, but it should be observed that the 'Man' in GO is the most attractive virtue of his, which should inspire the followers of the Puṣṭīmārga to become a perfect Vaisnava.

(xi) GO's personal Deity and Puranic References to GO

In the end, two things need be mentioned: one about his sevya svarūpa, his personal deity and the other about puranic references to GO.

100. Vide Appendix - 4.

101. Cf. Śantiparvan Chap. 299-20.

The *Sevya Svarūpa* of GO was S'ri Gokulanāthaji ^{alias S'ri Nāthaji} ~~alias S'ri Nāthaji~~. After making a permanent residence at Gokul, S'ri VT gave each of his seven sons one *Svarūpa* (i.e. idol), whom they should worship and daily. Go got the *Svarūpa* of S'ri GO, as his *Sevya*. It is said that there was *pañcāyatana-pūja* in the house of the father-in-law of S'ri VL. All those five idols of Gods were given to S'ri VL by his mother-in-law. S'ri VL kept the idol of S'ri GO as his *sevya* and others (S'iva, Sūrya, Bhavānī and Ganes'a) were offered into the Ganges.¹⁰² However Murlīdardas.¹⁰³ says that S'ri VL kept S'aligrāma only and he does not speak of the idol of S'ri GO. Tradition goes to say that this idol was worshipped by Indra. When Indra was humbled down

102. See *Nija-Vartā* (ed. Lallubhai C. Desai)

Prasāṅga No.34 P.69. and also *Girīdharaṁjī Mahārāja* ke 120 *Vaṇṇanāmṛitas* No.63 and No.114 and *Tattvārthadhāna - Anugraha*, Vol. 10 No.10 P.344B. Also see *Kāṅkerolī MS* (*Hindī Bandha* No.101 - 1) dated 1746, *Vartā* No.50, as quoted by H.Tandan in his *Vartā Sāhitya*, P.135.

103. Cf. *शालग्रामं विना देवतान्तरं प्रतिकृतिरूपविग्रहचतुष्टयमपि गंगायां प्राविशत् - Muralīdhara: S'ri Vallabhācārya caritaṁ*, p.6.

by Lord Kṛṣṇa, he came to Him and implored that He should allow him (Indra) to serve Him (Kṛṣṇa). Lord Kṛṣṇa gave him the idol in question and Indra worshipped it for a long time. Then, the idol came to the hands of Ravana who worshipped it for a long time and then, by the ~~xxx~~ passage of time, it came to the family of the father-in-law of S'rī VL. Such an edifice of an unchronological anecdote is erected around this idol.

The idol is five to six inches high, and is made of black stone. It has four hands. With one right hand, is raised the mount Govardhana, and in the left hand there is a conch-shell, in which all the heavy rains, it is said, are absorbed; with the other two hands, the Lord is playing on the flute. The seat is made of lotus. It is said that it is this idol which represents the svarūpa of the Lord who raised the mount Govardhana, when it rained heavily in Vraja.¹⁰⁴ To-day, every year on the eighth day of the dark half of Ās'vina, this svarūpa is taken in the easy seat (Sukhapāla) to Girirāja or Jatipurā from Gokul and the right of the ceremony of Govardhana-pūja by the Gosvāmī

104. Vide the pada: गिरि धार्यो गोकुलनाथ - - Kākā
Vallabhajī's bilāvala.

of the 'Fourth House' is still maintained.

Various authorities are cited in a Gujarati work on the Life of GO¹⁰⁵, as regards the predictions about the incarnations of God in the forms of S'rī VL, S'rī VT and S'rī GO. For example, it is stated ~~in~~ that in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa ; it is said that in the Kali age the Lord will take birth as Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Viṭṭhalēsa and Kalki.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, there is quoted a dialogue between Vasistha and Rāmachandra from Ādipurāṇa's Uttara-Khaṇḍa, where Vasistha says that in the Kaliyuga, the Highest Lord will be born as S'rī Gokulanāth.¹⁰⁷

In the same way, Kalāyana Bhaṭṭa mentions an authority¹⁰⁸ of Ādi-purāṇa, which says that God will take birth as S'rī GO.

)))-----

105. Vide Maganlal L. Gandhi's Life of GO, Chapter 3, Part I.

106. Ibid-P.62.

107. तस्माद् गोकुलनाथो यो भावी परमो मतः।
मत्तोऽन्येभ्यश्च सर्वेभ्योऽवतारेभ्यः कृपार्णवः॥१७॥
स पुरुषोत्तमो भक्तवत्सलो गुणसागरः।
पुनाति सक्तां पृथ्वीं विहर्ता ब्रजे ब्रजे॥१८॥-P.68.69-Ibid.

108. Vide Kallola No.1 Taranga 39 - St. 18 to 20.

All these authorities appear to be unauthentic. I have tried to trace the ^{above} stanzas quoted from the work Vallabha-Vilāsa,¹⁰⁹ but I could not find these stanzas in the Ādi-purāṇa. I feel, therefore, that some over-enthusiastic followers of GO might have fabricated these authorities to give them an air of ancient-ness. Such attempts do more harm than service to the sect.

109. I have seen only the 3rd and the 4th parts of this work. I could not come across the first ^{two} parts.

CHAPTER - III

Works of S'ri Gokulanāthajī

(i) Introductory:

GO comes next to VL and VT as a prolific writer. A tradition¹ goes that he put in as many works as would comprise nine lakhs of S'lokas (considering 32 letters as one S'loka). But so much literature of his is not available to-day. It is only a heresay, perhaps, a production of some of his disciples. Whatever it may be, but it is true that his works are not small in number.

1. Vide: નોંધે મેજેટિયર જેવા સરકાર તરફથી પ્રકટ કરવામાં આવેલા ગ્રંથોમાં શ્રીગુસાઈજીના ચોથા લાલ શ્રી ગોકુલનાથજી જેવાની વિદ્વત્તા માટે સુંદર લક્ષાણો થયાં છે. લેખવાલા શ્રીના ગ્રંથોના સાહિત્યને એકઠા કરવામાં જો આવે તો મહાભારત જેહયાત છે તેના ૧ ગણા કદના મહાભારતોનો કદ થાય થયવા ૧૮ પુરાણો છે તેને જેવઢા કરતાં ગ્રંથનું જે કદ થાય તેટલા કદનું તે સાહિત્ય છે. - શ્રી ગટુલાલજી સંસ્થાકી પુષ્ટિમાર્ગીય ઉત્સવોંકી દો વર્ષોં (સં. ૧૯૭૧ - ૭૪ વ ૧૯૭૪ - ૭૫) કી ટિપણી વ ટિપણ (સં. પં. પોપટલાલ મૂલજી)

- P.180

The same tradition goes in the case of Purusottamajī also. The editor of the Tipanī has not stated the source of information.

GO's works are found in two languages: Samskr̥t and Vrajabhāṣa, the popular dialect of the region of Vraja, which then grew into a literary language.

The Saṃpradāya - Kalpadrūma (SK)² of Viṭṭhalanātha Bhaṭṭa reports that GO wrote the following 13 works :

-
2. Cf. ग्रंथ त्रयोदश भूप किय गोकुलनाथ प्रवीन ॥२६॥
सर्वोत्तम श्रे सुबोधिनी, वेणुगीत परमानं ॥
गोकुलनाथ स्वतंत्र किय, भक्तिसुधी सुखदान ॥२७॥
सर्वोत्तम अरु गुप्तरस, गद्य रु षोडश ग्रंथ ॥
वल्लभाष्टक अर्थ किय, प्राकृत सुगम पंथ ॥ २८ ॥
दंडीमदमर्दन जु फिर, मालावाद सुजान ॥
भावसंसायन ग्रंथ किय निर्णयार्थ नृपमानं ॥२९॥
वचनामृत चौबीस किय, देवीजन सुखदान ॥
वल्लभविठ्ठल वारता प्रकट कीन नृपमानं ॥३०॥
- SK.P.140.

It should be noted that doubts are raised as regards the authenticity of this work.

The Word प्राकृत सुगम पंथ is understood by Shri H.Tandan as all literature of GO in Vrajabhāṣa, and he takes निर्णयार्थ as a separate work, which is doubtful.

- १। सर्वोत्तम टीका
- २। सुबोधिनी - वैष्णुगीत आदि स्वतंत्र लेख
- ३। सर्वोत्तम टीका [बृहती?] अथवा स्वतंत्र (?)
- ४। गुप्तरस टीका
- ५। गद्यमंत्र टीका
- ६। ञौडशग्रंथ टीका
- ७। वल्लभाष्टक टीका
- * ८। दंडीमदमर्दन^३
- * ९। मालावाद
- * १०। भावरसायन
- ११। २४ वचनमृत
- १२-१३। वल्लभविठ्ठलवारता (८४ तथा २५२ वैष्णवन की वार्ता)

3. Works, having such asterisks against them are taken account of, in this chapter, and do not form the subject of my study, on account of their either dubiousness or unavailability.

The periodical Vallabhiya Sudhā (VS)⁴

notes the following as the works of GO :

गद्यमंत्र टीका	वचनमृत
* दंडीमदमर्दन	सर्वोत्तम स्तोत्र टीका
* मालाकार	८४, १५२ वैष्णवकी वार्ता
* सुबोधिनी प्रश्न टीका	निजवार्ता
प्रकीर्ण स्तोत्र व्याख्यान	घरू वार्ता
* उत्सव निर्णय	दोहा
* भाव रसायन	स्फुटपद रचना
* वादग्रंथ	

The same periodical again mentions elsewhere⁵ the following as the works of GO in addition to those noted above:

रहस्यभावना	श्रीवर वाक्यामृत रत्नकोश
उत्सव भावना	* श्रीगुंसाईजी-दामोदर के संवादको अनुवाद
* नित्यसेवा प्रकार	* ८४ अपराध
* श्रीजी के स्वरूपकी भावना	* सातस्वरूप की भावना
* हांसी प्रसंग	पत्रादि

श्री आचार्यजी - श्रीगुंसाईजी के स्वरूपको विचार

The History of Pustimarga (in Gujarati)⁶

by Shri Vasantram Shastri does not mention all the above-

4. Cf. Vol. VI, No.2, P.17 and P.23.

5. Cf. Vol. XI, No.4, P.16.

6. Cf. P.84 (First edition, 1982 V.S.).

-mentioned works as the works of GO, but it mentions among others some more works, not mentioned in the VS. They are as follows:

Vyākya of 'Asmat Kulam Niskalanikan'

* सारसंग्रह

गायत्रीभाष्य विवरण

भावरत्न मंजूषा (१२००० श्लोक)

Shri Javaharlal Chaturvedi of Mathura

has prepared a bibliography of all the Pustimargiya works. His list notes the following as the works of GO :

संस्कृत :

षोडशग्रंथ टीका

सिद्धांतमुक्तावली (SM), जलभेद, पुष्पिष्ठवाहमर्मादिभेद (PPM),

अंतःकरणाप्रबोध (AKP), निरोधलक्षण (NL), भक्तिवर्धिनी (BLV),

विवेक धर्माश्रय, संन्यासनिर्णय (SN), सिद्धांत रहस्य (SR),

सेवापल्लव

* उत्सवनिर्णय

* मालाकार

क्रियासर्वापि सर्वत्र-टीका

* भक्त रसायन

गद्यमंत्र टीका

प्रकीर्ण स्तोत्र व्याख्या

* प्रपंच संसार भेद

* दंडीमदमर्दन

मधुराष्टक टीका

गुप्तरस टीका

वल्गुभाष्टक टीका

* भावरसायन

सर्वोत्तम टीका (लघु, सूक्ष्म)

अस्मात्कुलं निष्कलंकं व्याख्या

सर्वोत्तम टीका (बड़ी-बृहती)

* वेणुगीत-टीका

* स्फुरत्प्रेमामृत(दोः महती और सूक्ष्म) विज्ञप्ति (१७ श्लोकाः)

* सुबोधिनी की उपर प्रश्न टीका

गायत्री भाष्य विवरण

ब्रजभाषा :

८४ वैष्णवकी वार्ता	२८ वचनामृत
२५२ वैष्णवकी वार्ता	निजवार्ता
* मालाप्रसंग	गुसाईजीकी वार्ता
वचनामृत	उत्सवभावना
वनयात्रा	* वल्लभविलास

गुर्जररचना - पुष्टिमार्गना दर्शमर्मनुं धील

Shri Dvarkadas Parikh ascribed go GO.

He following works, in addition to those mentioned in the MS:

२८ बैठकचरित्र	८४ वचनामृत
गिरिधरजीकी बैठकका चरित्र	८४ बैठकके चरित्र
चरणचिह्नकी भावना	वनयात्रा
* भावनावचनामृत	गुसाईजी और दामोदरदास संवाद
भावसिंधु	अष्टमृतकी वार्ता
स्फुट वचनामृत	स्फुट पद

In the MS list of the Devakinandana Pustakālaya of Kāmavāna, the following works, among others, are ascribed to GO.

- * (संस्कृत) भक्तिहेतु - श्री गोकुलेश-विठ्ठलजी (अपूर्ण)
- * (संस्कृत) भक्तिहेतु निर्णय - श्री गोकुलेशजी (पूर्ण)
- (ब्रज) धील श्री गोकुलेशजी के (अपूर्ण)
- (संस्कृत) तिलक निर्णय

- * (सं०) सौन्दर्य मित्यस्य व्याख्या - श्री गोकुलनाथजी
- (व्रज) श्री गोकुलनाथजी की प्रश्नावली
- * (सं०) विज्ञप्त्यष्टकम् श्री गोकुलेश - विठ्ठलनाथजी
- * (सं०) रासपंचाध्यायी तात्पर्य
- * (सं०) रामचंद्रस्तुति कृष्णमंगल स्तोत्र - श्री गोकुलेशजी
- (व्रज) महावाक्य शरण मंत्र व्याख्या
- निबंधीय शिखारश्लोकाः गोविन्दाष्टकम् } श्री गोकुलेशजी
- (सं०) नवरत्न प्रकाशः सटिप्पणः टि० श्री विठ्ठलात्मज गोकुलेश
- श्रीवत्सल दीक्षित

The MS list of Nāthadvārā - Bhandāra also mentions some works of GO. Among them, there is one ascribed to GO and it is nowhere mentioned as a work of GO. It is विवरणं गोकुलेश कृत व्याकरण, to which I had no access. There is one more work of GO, which is not mentioned by any one, it is ममुनाष्टक प्रथम श्लोक पर स्वतंत्र लेख - This is also found in the MSS collection of Shri Gattulalaji Institution of Bombay.

S'rī GO himself mentions the following as his own works:

व्यक्तिविवृति⁷

7. Cf. सात्वग्निकुमारेष्वेत्युद्भाव्यैव मया व्यक्तिविवृती लिखितमस्ति।

स्वातंत्र्यक १
भावमंजूषा १
स्वतंत्र १०

It appears from the perusal of the Baḍī Tīkā of the SS that Bhāvamāñjūṣā (perhaps the same as Bhāva-ratha-mañjūṣā mentioned by Vasantram Shastri) and Svātantryaka^{10(a)} are the other titles of the Baḍī Tīkā and the Vyakti-Vivṛti is the same as the small (sūkṣma) commentary of the SS.¹¹ The

8. Cf. मदुक्तस्वतंत्र्यकविवृतिगूढाभिसन्ध्यन्तरितनिखिलतात्पर्यतत्त्ववति
etc. - 'Asmat Kulam Niskalanikam Vyākhyā',

P.9 (Published by Shri U.S.Parikh of Kapaḍvanj in
श्रीमद्वल्लभाचार्य वंश स्वरूप निरूपणम्).

9. Cf. इत्यत्र महावाक्यार्थरहस्यं मया भावनामंजूषायामुद्घाटितं विज्ञेयं. . . ।

- S'rī Mad Gāyatrī-Bhāṣya (Third
edition) - P.5.

10. Cf. मया स्वतन्त्रे हरिणीनां शुद्धज्ञानक्रिया प्राचुर्यप्रस्तावे सर्वोत्तमस्यापि
विवृतिः प्रपञ्चितमस्ति..... । - ...P.2, ibid.

11. Vide Chapter III(a) (ii) Comm. on some of the
works of VT.

10(a) Shri Jataṣhankar Shastri has noted that the
Baḍī Tīkā is also called syatantra: सर्वज्ञम स्तोत्र
बृहद्गीता (स्वतंत्राख्या): vide Suddhādvaita and
Bhaktimārtanda, Vol. 9, Nos. 3 - 4 -, P.19.

Svatantra is most probably his independent articles on some of the stanzas of the BG or some Kāvikas of the Sub.

Harirāyaṇī speaks of VT's Yamunāṣṭaka Vivṛti, which was completed by GO.¹²

It is unfortunate that none of the close disciples of GO, has given a full authentic list of the works of GO. Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa mentions the commentaries (Comm) of SS, Vallabhāṣṭaka, SN, AKP, BWV, SR, PFM, and of the stanzas धन्यास्तु मूढमतयः and मणिधरः क्वचिदागणयन् , as the works of GO¹³ Gopaldas only notes that GO did not write original works, but wrote comm. on the works of VL and VT. He does not even speak of the number of the comm and the names of the works, on which he wrote comm.¹⁴

It is said that GO wrote a com. on the Gītā, named Rasika-Raṇjanī. But I have not found its MS anywhere. According to some, it is ascribed to Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa.¹⁵

12. Vide Chapter-III(a)(iii) Comm. on some of the works of VL.

13. Vide Kallola 12 Taraṅga - 1.

14. Cf. Tattvārthdohana; Anugraha Vol.10, P.335, and footnote No.54 of this chapter.

15. A Gujarati Translation of Rasika-Raṇjanī is published in some of the issues of the periodical Anugraha, but there is no mention of or discussion about the authorship.

I have seen some more works, in addition to those noted above, during my search of the works of GO. They are as follows:

अष्टाक्षर विवृति	}	(Seen in Kapadvanj)
समर्पण विवृति		
कृष्णाश्रय टीका (वज्र)	}	(Seen in Kapadvanj as well as in Kāṅkarolī)
गोकुलाष्टक टीका (वज्र)		

In this way, there is no unanimity of opinion about the number of works of GO, and also about the titles of some of the works.¹⁶ I have carefully gone through these different lists and have found that none of them is correct and complete and is based mostly on heresay, and none has tried to classify them. Perhaps, some of the works of GO are irretrievably lost and the authorship of some of them ascribed to him is doubtful. We shall deal with such works in the later part of this chapter.

According to my opinion, the available works of GO can be classified as follows:

16. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta has also not given a correct and complete list of the works of GO as well as VL & VT. The list, as given by him, is incomplete and incorrect. Vide History of Indian Philosophy Vol.IV P.373 - 381.

(a) Sanskrit Works:

- (i) Original works: तिलकनिर्णय, विज्ञप्ति,
श्रीवल्लभाचार्य भक्तानां नामावली.
- (ii) Vivrtis or lekhas on some of the
works of S'ri VT: On SS, Vallabhāṣṭaka
Asmat Kulamī Niskalanīkāmī,
Gokulāṣṭaka and Guptarasa.
- (iii) Comm. on the following works of VL¹⁷

17. Shri Keshavlal Bhāganagari has written a Pūrvapīthikā to his translation of GO's com. of S.^{He SN.} There in he says that GO wrote seven comm. only i.e. on SS, Vallabhāṣṭaka SR, BhV, PPM, AKP, and SN, with a view to showing six attributes (dharmas) and the one Attributed (dharmī).

Read: आपश्री..... श्रीगोकुलेशजीने टीका सात करी। अधिक न करी। और ग्रंथ पर टीपणी कीयी अथवा स्वतंत्र कही श्रीभागवतसु - बोधिनी उपर लेख गूढभाव। दुर्बोध अति कठिण होते ताकु प्रकाश करवेकु लिखे।

From a MS of Shri O.C.Modi of Balasinor.

The statement that GO wrote only 7 comm. is not correct, for some more comm. such as that on Gadya-Mantra, are available. The statement that all others are Tipanī is also not scientifically correct. The word seven is perhaps used only to show that Six of them show the six attributes of the Lord and the seventh indicates the Dharmī.

Yamunāṣṭaka, SM, PPM, SR, NR,
AKP, Kṛṣṇās'raya, CS', BhV, Jalabheda,
SN, NL, Madhūrāṣṭaka and a tract on
the Gāyatrī-Bhāṣya.

(iv) Comm. on the two Mantras and other
tracts.

Comm. on Gadya-mantra & on Aṣṭākṣara,
and expository tracts on the stanzas:

क्रिया सर्वापि सर्वत्र , धन्यास्तु - -
मूढमतयः - etc.

- (b) Vārtā-Sāhitya: 84 and 252 vārtās,
Bhāva-sindhu, Gharu-vārtā , Bethaka-carita
Nijavārtā etc.¹⁸
- (c) Bhāvanā Sāhitya: Rahasya Bhāvanā,
Līlā Bhāvanā, Svarūpa Bhāvanā, Utsava
Bhāvanā, etc.¹⁹
- (d) Vacanaṁṛta Sāhitya: Different
Collections.²⁰
- (e) Dohās, Padas, Letters, Works on Astrology-
etc.²¹

18. Vide Chapter III (b).

19. Vide Chapter III (c).

20. Vide Chapter III (d).

21. Vide Chapter III (e).

(ii) An account of the unavailable or doubtful works of GO.

Now we shall take an account of the works not included in the above five-fold classification.

I have not come across the three works Dandī-mada-mardana, Mālāvāda, and Bhāva-rasāyana, mentioned by the SK. The first two have probably a reference to the event, popularly known as the Mālā-prasaṅga. It is said that GO collected all available scriptural authorities (pramāṇas) in favour of the tulasī-mālā and saw the ascetic (Gīdrūpa), and challenged him to refute them. This collection of the authorities might have been known as Mālāvāda. Dandī-mada-mardana may be a separate work, or may be another title of the Mālāvāda. The seventh Kallola (Taraṅga 15, 16, 17) of Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa contains a reference that GO collected various authorities for the tulasī-mālā and saw Gīdrūpa. All those authorities are also given in that Kallola. Can we assume that the seventh Kallola contains or is the same as the Mālāvāda? If so, it is only a compilation and not an original work. The work, titled Mālākāra, included in the list of Shri Javaharlal Chaturvedi and also mentioned in the VS (Vol.VI-2, P.17) is perhaps a misnomer and might be the same as Mālāvāda.

As regards the Bhāva-rasāyana, Gopāldāsa Vyāravālā says,

एकादशीतणौ ग्रंथ नीर्णयिनो एक
महाप्रभुजीए करी कह्यो छे विवेक।
ते ग्रंथनु नाम भावरसायन धरीये
लख्यु छे बहु भांति निर्णय करीये ॥²²

This shows that Bhāva-rasāyana is nothing but the ~~Book~~ Ekadas'ī - Nirṇaya. It is referred to in Chapter III(e). It is also said by some Bhārūcī Vaisnavas that GO discussed the problem of observing the Ekādas'ī, Jajmāstamī, etc., and that Vāda is called Bhāvarasāyana, which is not accessible to-day.

Sobodinī - pras'na - tīkā is not found as a separate work. Some articles or comments on some of the stanzas of the BG and the Sub. are written by GO, but we are not in a position to ascertain how many of such articles are there. There are several Vacanāmṛtas, in which he has given explanations of and removed doubts about certain stanzas of BG and lines of Sub. But I have not come across any mention of such a title, of the work elsewhere.

There is no separate work like Utsava-Nirnaya.²³ Gopāldas Vyārāvālā²⁴ notes that GO had a discussion with an ascetic named Prabodha Sarasvatī in the presence of Todarmal and Birbal, as regards the observance of Janmāṣṭamī. Such discussions might have gone by the title Utsava - Nirṇaya, but apart from the Ekādasī - Nirṇaya, no any other 'nirṇaya' is found to-day. There is no such 'vāda - grantha' ascribed to GO.

Rahasya Bhāvanā and Nitya - sevā - prakāra are mentioned as separate works by the above-noted persons, but the various MSS point to the fact that they are one and the same.²⁵

श्रीजी के स्वरूप की भावना is found in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī, but its author is not mentioned.²⁶ सात स्वरूपकी भावना is also

23. There is one MS (Hindi section No. 87 - 4 - 1) in Kāṅkarolī, named Bhavanā- Vacanāmṛta, whose colophon reads: इतनी श्रीजीने कृपा करी उत्सवनिर्णय संक्षेपमें लिख्यो है। - This MS is nothing but the Utsvā - Bhāvanā.

24. Cf. श्रीजीए जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय कीघां छे जी.....।
- Prākṛtya Siddhānta, Maṅgala 22,

St. 144 etc.

25. Vide Chapter III (c).

26. Vide Chapter III (c).

ascribed to GO, but no such work is so far traced. There is one work called स्वरूप भावना , which includes the Bhāvanās of the seven idols, but its author is Dvārke'sajī.

भावना वचनामृत is a MS in Kāñkarolī, but it is nothing but Utsava-Bhāvanā²⁷.

हांसीप्रसंग, वचनामृत , ²⁸ वचनामृत and वदवाक्यामृतरत्न (कोश are the collections of the scattered vacanāmṛtas of GO.²⁹

A MS²⁹ of गुसाईजी-दामोदरदास संवाद is found in Kāñkarolī, but its author is not mentioned. In this work, there is a mention of the re-birth of Dāmodardās as GO.³⁰ Secondly, the work notes that : -

सो जितनी बात दामोदरदासजीनें कही सो श्री गुसाईजीने संस्कृतमें कही एक ग्रंथ कीनी है सो श्री गोकुलनाथजी के पास हती। ता को विस्तार या हूँ ग्रंथ विशेष है।

27. Vide Chapter III (c).

28. Vide Chapter III (d).

29. Vide MS Hindi Section No. 92/4/1 P.11 to 71.

30. Cf. P. 23 and 24, Ibid. Also see footnote No3, Chapter II.

Therefore, it is clear that it is not a work of GO. There is also another MS³¹ whose colophon reads इति श्री गुसाईजी कीर्तार दामोदरदास हरसांनी को संवाद संपूर्ण. - that, too, is not the work of GO.³²

A MS³³ of '84 Aparādha' is found in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī. It ~~begins~~ begins in this way : अब श्री आचार्यजी महाप्रभुजी कुंभनदास प्रत पुष्टिमार्गसो सिद्धांत कहत है.....There is no mention of the author.

MSS of Sāra-Saṁgraha³⁴ are found in Kāṅkarolī. They contain collections of ^{etc} stanzas from different Purāṇas on different subjects like the Ekādas'ī, Mahāprasāda - mahimā, etc. These

~~31. Cf. P. 23 & 24, Ibid. Also see footnote No. 3,~~

~~Chapter II~~

32. Vide MS Hindi Section No. 137/6.

32. Vide Chapter III (b), footnote No. 79.

33. Vide MS Hindi Section No. 95/3/2 & 92/5.

34. Vide MSS Sāṁskṛt No. 79/13, 82/8, 82/18, Vide also the MS No. 1949 of Sāṁskṛt Section of Gujarat Vidya Sabha of Ahmedabad. It contains extracts from Pūrāṇas, authorities about the observance of different festivals. It also contains Prahlāda-Samihitā. There is no reference to either the date or the author.

MSS do not mention the name of the author. If the Sara-saṁgraha is taken to be a compilation by GO, it would show that GO was well versed in the Purāṇas. Some people believe that the collection of the authorities about the tulsī-mālā, as found in the seventh Kallola, is the Sāra-saṁgraha. But in the absence of any genuine authority, we are not able to say whether the collection is called Mālāvādāṅk or Sāra-saṁgraha.

Prapañca - Saṁsāra - bheda is ascribed to GO. The editor of Vādāvalī,³⁵ in which the tract is printed, also gives the same opinion. But it is not the work of GO, but of another Vallabhajī.^{36(a)}

Two comm. of स्फुरत्प्रेमामृत, भक्तरसायन मालाप्रसंग and वल्लभविलास are taken to be the works of GO, by Shri Javaharlal Caturvedi. Shri Jātās'aṅkara S'astri has stated ^{36(b)} that one स्फुरत्प्रेमामृत टीका of

35. Vide Vādāvalī: Introduction P.10.

36(a) Shri M.T.Telivala has nearly conclusively stated that it is written by Vallabhajī (birth 1729 V.S.), a descendent of Raghunāthjī, the fifth son of VT .

Cf. Puṣṭisudhā Vol. VII, No.9, P.95.

36(b) Cf. S'uddhādvaita and Bhaktimārtanda, VOL.IX 3 - 4, P. 16, 17, 19.

Vallabha is available in Gokul. It is dated 1868 V.S. and is unpublished. He also makes a mention of स्फुरत्प्रेमायुत टीका(महती) . But I could not get any of them, during my search of MSS of GO's works. It is said that some Bharuṇī Vaisṇavas residing at Vallabha-Ghātā (Gokul) have some rare MSS of the works of GO, but they do not allow any one to read or copy them, because they consider those MSS as the Svarūpa of GO. Mālā-prasaṅga is a work by Gopaldas. Vallabha-Vilāsa is not the work of GO, but of some Bharuṇī Vaisṇava and is published from Kashi. It describes GO as Puruṣottama. It cannot be the work of GO, for he did not believe himself be God or an incarnation of God.³⁷

About Venu-gītā-tīkā, it may be said that GO has talked about it in his Vacanāmṛtas. A tract on St.11 is available, but a complete Com. of Venugītā is not available to-day.

Bhakti-Hetu or Bhakti-Hetu-Nirṇaya³⁸

37. Vide Chapter III (a): Commentary on the SS.

38. It is published by the Puṣṭimārgīya Yuvaka Paṇḍit of Bombay. The Com. of Raghunāthajī mentions the title as Bhakti-Hetu.

is the work of VT, but the Kāmyana list of MSS ascribes it to GO as well. The MSS are not available,³⁹ and, therefore, it is not possible to pass any remark about it, as well as other works ascribed to GO, in the Kāmyana list of MSS. It is said that VT used to show his works to GO, invited his (GO(S) remarks on them and incorporate such remarks wherever possible. So, it is possible that GO might have a hand in some of the works of VT, but before looking into the MSS, it is difficult to say anything about the joint authorship of such works. The same thing is to be said about the रासपंचाध्यायी तात्पर्य and the विज्ञप्त्यष्टकम्. Except one Vijñapti, all the others are ascribed to VT.

Among the प्रकीर्ण स्तोत्र व्याख्या mentioned by the VS, there are comm. on the Vallabhāṣṭaka, SS and the Gokulāṣṭaka.⁴⁰

39. On account of rains, the MSS were heaped in a small room, when I visited Kāmyana in October, 1961, and hence could not have an access to the MSS in question. Later, I inquired for the MSS, but no reply was received.

40. Vide Chapter III (a).

Shri Hariharanāth Tandana has made a mention of GO's Com. on S'rīgāra-vasa-maṇḍana,⁴¹ but no catalogue of MSS (in Kāṅkarolī, Nāthadvārā or Kāmavāna) makes a mention of it. The available edition of S'rīgāra-vasamaṇḍana⁴² also does not refer to a Com. by GO.

In the story of Kis'oribāī in the 252 Vārtās, the following account is given :

जो केदार रस भरी गाइ रही है। सो रस की वार्ता है। सो श्री गोकुलनाथजी "रसमंजरी" की टीका लिखी है।⁴³

The above account informs us that GO wrote a Com. on Rasa-maṇḍarī, which is known to be the work of Nandadāsa.⁴⁴ The Com. of GO is

41. Vide Vārtā Sāhitya, P. 561.

42. It is edited by Shri Telivala and published in 1975 V.S., wherein the editor ~~refer~~ refers to a Com. by Gokulotsavajī.

43. 252 Vārtā's (ed. D. Parikh) Part III - P. 152.

44. Cf. Ramchandra Shukla: Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas (ed. 2014 V.S.) P. 161. Vide also Shri Kanthamanishastri's Nandadāsa's Maṇjarī- Pañchaka published by the Vidya Vibhāga of Kāṅkarolī. Shri Kanthamanijī wrote to me that he had not seen GO's Com. on Rasa - Manjarī.

not traced to-day. If we take it for granted, on the strength of the above authority, that GO wrote a Com. on Rasa-Mañjarī, it would show that GO was humble enough to comment on a work of a follower.

Harirāyaji wrote Gokules'āṣṭaka, in honour of GO, wherein he states that GO made famous the Artha-tattva-vivṛati⁴⁵ of the BG. The line, in question, also means that GO talked at length about the time meaning of the BG. So, whether Artha-tattva-vivṛti refers to Sub. of VL or another work of GO is a ~~xxx~~ question. No work of this title is so far available. As stated above, GO wrote some small tracts on some of the verses of the BG and the Sub., but all of them are not available. It is possible, that Harirāyaji perhaps refers to his (GO's) teachings of the BG in general, some of which are found in the vacanāmṛtas.

In the Vidyāvibhāṣa of Kāṅkaroli, there is a MS⁴⁶, titled Lalita-tribhaṅga. It contains

45. Cf. यः श्रीभागवतार्थतत्त्वविवृतेः चक्रे प्रचारं (प्रवाहं).....।

-Harirāya - Vāñ - mukhāvalī, Part II, P.236, St.1.

46. Samskr̥ta section No.93/13.

bhāṣa-tīkā by GO. The handwriting is illegible; hence I could not read it, and therefore, no comments about its contents can be passed. It is possible that it may be the Vraja-version of GO's Com. on the Guptarasa of VT.

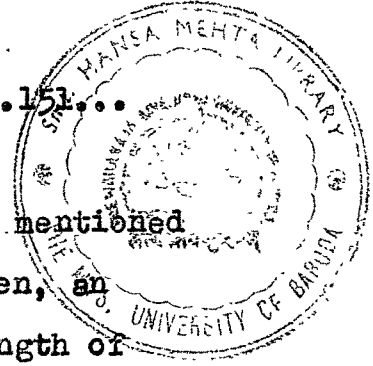
There is a play named Amrtodayam¹ by Gokulanātha, published in the Kābyamālā series (No. 59) by the Nirṇaya Sāgar press. The author seems to be a follower of Śaṅkarācārya. The play describes allegorically a conflict between Vedic and Buddhist Philosophy. GO, the fourth son of VT, is surely not the author of the work.

Shri L.P. Parekh notes that some people believe that the work Bhagavat-pīthikā is written by VT and some believe that it is by GO.⁴⁷ It is also said that it is written by V^L. In the absence of any cogent authority, it is not possible to ascertain the authorship of the Bhagavat - pīthikā.

(iii) About the Chronology of GO's works:

In the absence of sufficient external or internal evidences, it is difficult to fix the correct dates of composition of the different works of GO.

47. Cf. L.P. Parekh, S'ri Mad Vallabhācāryajī (Third Edition) P. 388.



Nowhere

Number do we find the date of composition, mentioned in the works proper or elsewhere. Even then, an attempt is made here to do so, on the strength of some statements found in different works.

(1) Gopaldas states that Mālejī Pancholi of Baroda invited GO to visit his place.⁴⁸ GO visited Gujarat in 1646-47 V.S. This leads us to surmise that all the vacanāmṛtas where Mālejī is referred to, are uttered after 1647 or after the period when Mālejī came to reside at Gokul. After the event of Mālāprasāṅga, many Vaiṣṇavas were drawn towards GO, who used to talk to them about the religious doctrines. Most of the vacanāmṛtas, therefore, might have been told after 1675 V.S. or so and compiled after 1680-90^{V.S.} The earliest MS⁴⁹ of the vacanāmṛtas is dated 1693 V.S.

(2) Rasakhāna and Viṣṇudāsa Chīpā make references to the 84 Vaiṣṇavas in their padas. Both of them flourished in the first half of the 17th century of Vikrama Era. So we can surmise that the 84 Vārtas were told and probably compiled by 1650 V.S. or so.

48. Cf. Gujarāt - prasāṅga, Mārigalya 13, St.7.

49. MS (Hindi Section) No.141^{1/3} in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī.

(3) Com. on ' अस्मत्कुलं निष्कलकं ' mentions the Com.⁵⁰ on the SS and स्वातंत्र्यकविद्विती on the stanza मणिधरः क्वचिदागणयन् . So, the latter two works were surely written before the Com. on " अस्मत्कुलं निष्कलकं " was written.

(4) A tract on ~~the~~ Gayatri-bhāṣya speaks of the Com.⁵¹ on the SS and the स्वतंत्र on the stanza धन्यास्तु मूढमतयः - ... So the latter two were written before the tract on ^{the} Gayatri - bhāṣya was written. Now, the Badi-tīkā on the SS mentions the Com. on the अस्मत्कुलं निष्कलकं . Hence, Badi-tīkā comes next to the Com. on ^{the} अस्मत्कुलं

निष्कलकं and because the ~~tract~~ tract on the Gayatri-bhāṣya mentions the Bhāva-mānjusā, which is most probably the Badi-tīkā, the tract on the Gayatri-bhāṣya was perhaps the last among the abovementioned works.

(5) The language of the Comm. on अस्मत्कुलं, गायत्री भाष्य, समर्पण गद्यार्थ, बड़ीटीका and वल्लभाष्टक विवरण evinces maturity of style and it is a bit difficult too. The matter is also full of deep thought. Hence it can be safely surmised that at least these works might have been written during the last phase of his life.

50. Vide footnote No.8 in this chapter.

51. Vide footnote No.9 in this chapter.

Generally, the Gosvāmīs were keeping scribes with them and were dictating their works. In the case of GO, it is reported that Govardhana Bhaṭṭa and Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa acted as scribes.⁵² So, hardly any works in GO's own handwriting are available. It is said that there are some works in GO's own handwriting in possession of some Bharuṇī Vaisnavas. But few are allowed to read or copy them. The seat of GO is at Gokul, but no work of his is available at Gokul to-day. It is said that some works of GO, that were at Gokul were taken by the late S'rī Vallabhalālaṇḍī to Kānavana in the Devakīnandana Pustakālaya. Presently, all the MSS are lying in a disorderly heap and hence it is not possible to find out any MSS in GO's own hand or to trace the date of their composition.

(iv) Some Miscellaneous Information about GO's works:

Gopāldās in his Tattvārthadhāraṇa⁵³ says that GO did not write any original work, but wrote Comm. on the works of VL & VT, as he wanted to bring out the inner meaning of their works. Then, he says that

52. Cf. Kallola XII, Taraṅga - 9.

53. Cf. Anugraha, Vol. X, No.10, P.335.

the ultimate fruit of their works and the Puṣṭimārga was GO (the Original Svarūpa) himself. So, there was no use writing Original works, as VL & VT did.⁵⁴ The reason given here ^{by Gopal das,} as to why GO did not write original works, is too sectarian and p_ersonal to believe in it. On the contrary, we can well say that the doctrines of S'uddhādvaita Puṣṭimārga were fully propounded by VL in his AnBh, TDN, etc. and by VT in ^{his} Vidvan-mandana, Bhaki-~~ketu~~, etc., and GO thought it proper to explain their works in his own say. He believed in the pramēya-way of interpretation and ~~it~~ did not attach much importance to the pramāṇa. He stood for the pure Puṣṭimārga, the way of the Gopījanas, and so, VT sought many times GO's opinion as regards his (VT's) own statements. It is also traditionally said that many times VT incorporated in his works the interpretations or suggestions advanced by his son GO.

54 Cf. श्री आचार्यजी श्री गुसाईजीए तो भविष्यमां ए स्वरूप देखाडवाने ग्रंथ कीधा ने ते स्वरूप तो प्रगट थयुं तो हवे आगल ए स्वरूप कोने देखाडवा ग्रंथ करे? माटे पोते ग्रंथ नकीधा ने पोते विप्रयोग असह्य परितापयुक्क श्लोक पांवीस कीधा । - - - - -

Bethaka - carita of GO's 13 Bethakas (seats) (Published in the work, titled Nija-vārtā, Gharu-vārtā, Bethaka-carita by Shri Lallubhai C. Desai) gives the following information about some of the works of GO.⁵⁵ : -

(i) The Com. on the Vallabhāṣṭaka was composed at the Bāṁsivata in Brindavan.

(ii) The Com. on the SS was composed at Āndra Sarovara.

(iii) The incident of Venugītā was discussed at the bethaka of Karahṭā. It means that the Com. or tract on the Venugītā or on some of its stanzas was composed at Karahṭā.

(iv) The incident of Bhremaragītā was talked at length at Rāsoli and it lasted for three preharas (i.e. 9 hours)!

With this initial discussion, and information gathered about GO's works, we shall now turn to the study and estimate of his available works, according to classification stated above.

55. Cf. Nijavārtā, Gharuvārtā etc. (ed. L.C. Desai), P.P.315, 316, 318 and 318 respectively.

CHAPTER III (a)

Sanskṛta Works

(i) Original Works:

As stated above,¹ GO has not written any original or independent works of great value as VL and VT did. It appears that he thought it proper to write Comm. on the works of his father and grandfather, and to explain what they have said. However the following are taken as his original works, as they are not the Comm. of any works.

1. Tilaka- Nirṇaya

The followers of VL's sect, viz. the Puṣṭimārga make two types of forehead marks ('tilaka'): one is popularly called 'joined', i.e. that in which the two lines are joined by a curve between the eyebrows and the other is called 'separated' or dandākāra or dvirekha i.e. that in which the two lines are kept apart. The followers of GO make the second type of 'tilaka' mark on

1. Vide Chapter III (iv).

the forehead and all the others mark the first type. Various anecdotes^{1(a)} are related to explain why only the followers of GO, mark the second type

1(a) It is said that GO once forgot to join the lines of the 'tilaka', and when the Lord S'rī Nāthajī saw it, He smiled and said that such a mark appears very good. From that day onwards, GO marked two separate lines of 'tilaka' on his forehead and his followers did the same. The tradition is reported in the periodical 'Vaiṣṇava Dharma Pataṁkā' Vol. VIII, No.3, P.84. Secondly, it is said that when GO visited Kashmir to have a talk with Jahangir, in connection with the removal of ^{the} māla, as desired by Cidrūpa, Jahangir asked GO to do something at least to maintain his (Jahangir's) honour. So, GO said that he would remove the curve of the 'tilaka' and would mark only two lines on the forehead. 'S'rī Giridharajī Mahārāja ke 120 Vacanāmṛtas' notes this tradition in the Vacanāmṛta No.44 (P.89 ed. L.C. Desai). It relates GO telling Jahangir, ' हम तो तुम्हारे कहे से निचे की तिलक न करेंगे।' - - - - - The incident appears to be baseless and evinces a tendency to belittle GO who shined glorious in the affair of the Mālāprasaṅga.

of 'tilaka', but they do not appear authentic. The followers of GO maintain that they follow the principle laid down by VL, in the words " दण्डाकारं ललाटे स्मात्" - - -" in the Tattvadīpa - nibandha.² This statement of VL is, however, interpreted differently by other followers of VL. Whatever may be the case, it remains an inexplicable mystery as to how there are two types of forehead marks among the followers of one and the same sect.

GO is said to have written Tilaka-nirvanaya³ to establish the scriptural authenticity of the 'dandākāra tilaka'. He quotes, in his favour, from the Ācāramayūkha, the Padma Purāṇa and the Śatapatha. He explains the Purāṇic statements with intricate grammatical niceties.⁴ From this, it can

2. Cf. TDN - II - St. 244.

3. Its MSS are available at Broach, Kapadvanj and Kāmṛan. It is published in the Work, named दण्डाकार-
दिवाकरः (ed. 2002 V.S.) by Balmukund Sharma of Birpur. It is also published in a booklet named
कर्मरहितशुद्धभक्ति निरूपण अने तिलकनिर्णय by Shri
Utsavlal S. Parikh (ed. 1994 V.S.).

4. Cf. द्विदि दैधीकरणे धातोर्मूलादारभ्य कर्मभक्तमर्कम् अग्रभागपर्यन्तम्
दैधीकरणमभिज्ञायते । - - -Dandākāra-divākaraḥ,
P.88.

be seen that the controversy about these two types of the tilaka-mark was going on in GO's days, and he, therefore, wrote the work to prove his stand as regards 'dandākāra tilaka'. It can also be said that there is no authority to prove that the Tilaka-nirṇaya is written by GO. It might have been written by one of his followers and ascribed to him. The work does not contain any maṅgala (auspicious stanza), and no obeisance to VL or VT is made either, in the beginning or at the end of the work. Hence, a doubt can be raised as regards its authorship by GO. But in the absence of any genuine authority, it is difficult to pronounce any final word about it.

2. Vijñapti

Vijñapti⁵ is one of the important works of GO. As regards the number of the stanzas in it, there is a difference of opinion. Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa says that GO wrote 37 stanzas which are full of deep

5. It is printed in the Gokules'a-vāksudhā (GVS) edited by Shri N.N. Gandhi and published by Shri U.S. Parikh in 2009 V.S.

sense of separation from the Lord,⁶ while Gopaladas says that GO wrote only 35 stanzas. Both of these writers were contemporaries of GO, were his close disciples, and therefore, it is difficult to say which of them is right. However, we can put more trust in Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa, who worked as a scribe of GO.

Another question in the case of GO's Vijñapti is that of its authorship. There are ten such Vijñaptis ascribed to VT. They are published

6. Cf. ... ॥ मराप्रभुजीने विप्रयोगरसरूप अर्पणारे अतः ते गूढ
भाव अर्पणारे पर ते तीस पद रचे रे । —

- Kallola XII, Taraṅga 10 - Translation (unpublished) by Shri Loknath Pandit. Some readings of this work as given by Kallola are different from those given in the GVS, but they are not important and hence are not noted here.

7. Cf. "भक्तिर श्लोक प्रभुजना ते माझे ह सिद्धांत ।" —

- Bhakta Bhavārtha, Māṅgalya 2, St. 307 (unpublished).
Vide also, Tattvārthadhāna: Anugraha Vol. X, No.10, P.335. There is a MS of the Vijñapti in the Dāhīlaxmī Library of Nadiad. It contains only 34 stanzas and their order is not the same as that printed in the GVS.

in the Br̥hat-stotra-saritsāgara (BSSS)⁸ on P.171 and on Pp.198 to 226. On comparing them with that of GO, it is noticed that most of the stanzas of GO's Vijñapti are found in those of VT.⁹ So, the question is as to who is the real author of the Vijñapti ascribed to GO. Happily enough, we have enough authorities to prove that the author of the Vijñapti in question is GO and not VT. Both Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa and Gopāldās ascribe it to GO, as stated above. Again, GO himself makes a reference to the Vijñapti in his Baḍī Tīkā,¹⁰ and explains at length the meaning of the term 'Rādhes'a' used

8. It is published by Pt. Nārāyaṇa Mūlajī Pustakālaya of Bombay in 1927 A.D.

9. St. 1 to 23 and 29 of GO's Vijñapti are found verbatim in the Vijñapti printed on BSSS P.171.

Similarly, the third Vijñapti (BSSS P.204) is the same as that of GO. Besides, some stanzas of the fourth Vijñapti (BSSS P.207), St. 5th of the second one, St.10th of the eighth one, are found in the Vijñapti of GO.

10. Cf. अतो मयोक्तमस्ति विज्ञप्ती यदन्यं कृपाहेतुर्न - - - - -
etc. - Baḍī Tīkā (Porbander MS, hereafter referred to as MS or MS (P)), P.83.

in St.1. It appears improbable that GO might have mentioned a work of his father as his own. These internal evidences settle the question of the authorship of the Vijñapti in question.

The Vijñapti is a devotional prayer and appeal to Lord Kṛṣṇa. We find in the author a soul completely dedicated to the Lord. It describes the author's deep pain of separation from the Lord.¹¹ The author is despaired of the union with the Lord, but at the same time, has full faith in him, that he would not abandon the true devotee.

The Author is not a pedant. The style is lucid and the diction simple. St. No.13 is a good Anyokti.¹²

3. श्री वल्लभाचार्य भक्तानां नामावली¹³

This small work attempts to give in 18 stanzas a list of the 84 disciples of VL. The purpose of the work is to give the list of the names of the 84 Vaisnavas, for daily muttering.¹⁴ It has nothing

11. Cf. Vide St. 8 and 10 - GVS. P.280.

12. Cf. स्वभावतः सदा मेघः सर्वेषां जीवनप्रदः।

जानेऽर्कस्यैव दीर्घाग्निं सोऽपि यत्तमुपेक्षते।।

- GVS - P - 280.

13. It is published, in 1974 V.S. alongwith the 84 Vartas, by Shri Lallubhai C. Desai of Ahmedabad.

14. Cf. तथापि स्वात्मपात्रार्थं लिखितानि.....। St.18.

poetic about it. Not only that, there are grammatical mistakes also in the Nāmāvalī.¹⁵ Can it be concluded from this, that the author is not GO, but some one else who ascribed it to GO? In the absence of any authority, we are not able to decide the issue.

On comparing this list with the 84 Vārtas, it is found that the order of the Vaisnavas ^{mentioned} given in the Nāmāvalī is not the same as that in the 84 Vārtas. Secondly, the following Vaisnavas are not mentioned in the Nāmāvalī:

अच्युतदास सारस्वत, नारायणदास भाट, नारायणदास दीवान, सिंहनाद के स्त्रीपुरुष, अडेसका सुतार, गोविंद दुबे, रामदास चौहान ।

Thirdly, स्त्रियः and इन्द्रप्रस्थ कात्री¹⁶ who are mentioned in the Nāmāvalī are not referred to in the 84 Vārtas.

There is another reading¹⁷ of St.16, and if it is genuine, then Ramdas Chamhan becomes eliminated.

15. Cf. तत्त्वमसि नामानि बहवस्तथा । - 17 and सिंहनादे

सासुबद्ध - St. 12.

16. Vide St.14 & 15.

17. Cf. कृष्णदासः कुंभन/श्च बाडवो बादरायणः । -

H. Tandan, Vārtā Sāhitya P.151.

Handwriting of Gokulnāthajī

(By courtesy of Kavi Purushottamdas Tribhovandas
of Nadiad)

श्रीवत्सलस्य

सेवनं स्वर्गदेवर्तने पुष्टिभक्तिमार्गे क्तप्रकारेण तदा तु यथा ॥ प्रभुभिरेव स्वसेव्यस्वरूपादिषु ह्यतन्तयैव कर्तव्यं वा यथा स्मरीत्याः कुर्वन्ति तथैव कर्तव्यं ॥ तस्मात्पुष्टिभक्तिमार्गैः श्रीमद्वल्लभा ग्ग्यंगीतदेवजीवैर्मदीयेरपि यत्कर्तव्यं ॥ तत्साक्षाद्विधाभृंगारसालयमुखारविंदफलवियोगाग्निनिर्देशशायसमन्वितमेव न तु स्वकल्पितव्यवहाराग्रहपूर्वकं ॥ तत्तन्निष्ठफलसाधकं भविष्यत्येव न तत्र संशयः यत्तु उक्तं मादशी सेवनाभोक्तानतसिद्धौ फलोच्यते ॥ सर्वकृतिपुराजयाबाधनं वाहरी छयेत्यादिना पुष्टिभक्तिमार्गस्य साधनदशायां आचार्योक्तप्रकारेण सेवाकरणे परमांत

↑

A rare manuscript of Gokulanāthajī's Badī or Brihatī
Tīkā on Sarvottama - Stotra

(By courtesy of Gosvami Shri Mādhavarāyaji Mahārāja
of Porbandar - Saurashtra)

The list attempts to give the names of the 84 Vaisnavas¹⁸, but actually the number is less than that, if we take तुलसी, पार्वती etc. in one group as found in the 84 Vārtās. But the list itself does not appear particular about the number, and says that there were many disciples of VL.¹⁹

(ii) Comm. on some of the works of VT:

The following five are the Comm of GO on the works of his father VT.

1. Commentaries (Comm) on the Sarvottama Stotra (SS):

The SS is a work of 35 ānandas, by S'rī VT. It contains 108 names (or epithets) of S'rī VL and describes his divinity and greatness as an Ācārya and religious preacher. It is called the 'Sarvottam-Stotra', because it is the most important of all the stutis (eulogies) and it is the eulogy of the Guru,

18. Cf. चतुरशीतिभक्तानां व्यक्तिं कुर्वे यथार्थतः। - - - -St.1.

19. Cf. श्रीमदाचार्यभक्तानां नामानि बहवस्तथा। -

St.17. Vide also the story of Sūndās in the 84 Vārtās, where it is stated^{that} all the disciples of Sūradāsa turned to be the followers of VL, after Sūradāsa was initiated.

who is considered in India the Lord par excellence.²⁰

21

Six Comm on this stotra are said to be available. They are by ^{Go}Raghunāthajī, Gopes'varajī, Harirāyajī, Vallabhajī and Dvārakes'ajī. It is also said that there are some more Comm on the SS, than the above-mentioned six. Bālakṛṣṇajī is said to have written a Sarvottama-Bhāṣya which is not accessible to-day.²² Go is probably the first to comment on the SS. He has written two Comm. on it. One is brief (laghu or sūksma) and another is long (brhatī), popularly known as Bādī-tīkā. The brief one is all included in the long one, excepting a few words here and there. For example, the introductory

20. Cf. गुरु ब्रह्मा गुरु विष्णु गुरु देवो महेश्वरः।
and also the well known verse of Kabir : ^{गुरु गोविंद तो खड़े,} काके लागूं पायें।
बलिहारी गुरु आपने, जिन गोविंद दिया बताय ॥

21. Vide Mahāprabhū-stuti-muktāvalī - Part I P.163.

22. Cf. "सर्वोत्तमजीकी टीका पांच सात बालकनने कही है। परंतु बालकृष्णजी महाराजने कही है सो सर्वोपर है। ता को नाम सर्वोत्तम भाष्य है। सो छे हजार श्लोक को पूर है। सो टीका हमने सरस्वती भंडारमें ढूंढी परंतु पाइ नहीं। - - -

-Giridharajī Maharāja ke Vacanāmṛta, P.52.

comment on the St.4 in the brief commentary (Com)²³ has two long sentences of seven printed lines, while the long Com contains a long discussion running over eighteen pages of the MS²⁴, set between the two sentences of the brief Com. The discussion is about the divine nature of VL and contains most of his (GO's) Com on the first stanza of Vallabhāṣṭaka. We quote below an example to show the difference between the two comm:

यद्यप्यस्माकं..... कथयामीत्यर्थः।²⁵ — The short com.

यद्यप्यस्माकं तदर्थं प्रकटितमुखारविंदप्रसरूपार्चननुग्रहवशात् तदुक्तसुबोधिण्यादि-
 पूर्णाधिबोधोऽवनि तथापि प्रेषणामुद्धारार्थं स्वयं भूमी प्रादुरासी तेषां
मूललीलायध्यापतिनां जीवत्वेनाल्पबुद्धिमत्त्वात् भुविपतनदुःसंसर्गात्
धामनश्चरी ञ्जितत्वात् तेन देहाध्यासन्दिग्धाध्यासान्तःकरणाध्यास-
प्राणाध्यासस्वरूपानुषादेरखिलपरमानंदरसाधिक्यविस्मरणं चाभूत् तेन
तेषां सुबोधिण्यादीनां मूलवास्तवतात्पर्यानिवगमाद् अफलाप्तेरेव
संभवाद्भक्त्युक्तार्थैव संपद्येतेति यथा तेषामपि तत्तात्पर्याविबोधो भवेन्तदर्थं
तेषामेवाज्ञार्याणामेवाष्टोत्तरशतसंख्याकानि नामानि प्रवक्ष्यामि प्रकर्षेण
तत्स्वरूपानुषावाविर्भावाधिक्येन कथयामीत्यर्थः।²⁶ - - - - -

- The long com.

23. Vide GVS P.7.

24. Vide Badi-tika (P) leaves 1 to 10.

25. Cf. GVS P.8.

26. MS P.10 - 11. The underlined words are not found in the brief Com.

The brief com appears to be an abbreviation of the long one. But it is not really so. The brief com was written before the long one was written. This is proved by the fact that GO himself refers to a work, names व्यक्तिविवृति or स्फुटतरविवृति or प्रकट-विवृति in the long Com. at several places.²⁷ The sentences preceeding the words इत्यादिना व्यक्तिविवृती or इति तु व्यक्तिविवृती are found verbatim in the brief com. Secondly, the ~~example~~ explanation of the word रौण्डकपातसंप्लुष्टः (SS St.14) is different in both the ~~Comm~~ and the long com notes that the explanation is differently given in the brief com.²⁸ So, the work

27. Cf. (1) भक्तिमार्गरूपं यद्वज्रं तस्य मार्तण्डः प्रकाशक इत्यर्थ इत्यादिना

स्फुटतरविवृतावस्माभिः प्रपंचितमस्ति। MS P.64.

(2) आचार्यप्रकटितपुष्टिभक्तिः.....फलसाधक इत्यादिना व्यक्तिविवृत्य-

नुपूर्वार्थं समं लेखाखिलचरितार्थता अवधेयेदानीं तदन्तर्गतं

यन्निखिलं वस्तुवास्तवरूपं स्वतन्त्रे निरूप्यते। MS P.67.

(3) दाहे.....सूचितः इति तु प्रकटविवृती मया प्रपंचित-

मस्ति..... 1- MS P.170.

Also vide MS P.167, 185, 190, 286, and

231 of Ujjain MS.

28. Cf. MS P.170.

व्यक्ति-विवृति, referred to in the tract on
अस्मत्कुलं निष्कलंकं and also in the long com,
is nothing but the brief com on the SS and it becomes
clear, from the comparison of the two comm, that
the brief one is an earlier work. The long com
was most probably written in GO's afterlife, for
it includes not only the brief com on the SS, but
it incorporates into it, some parts of his comm
on the NL, SN, CS', Vallabhāstaka etc. This is
also corroborated by GO's statement²⁹ that his
disciples looked upon him as Puruṣottama, which
must have happened in the later years of his
life.

The long com is also known as Svatantra
or Svātantryaka - vivṛti. GO himself has mentioned
this title in the long com.³⁰ It is difficult to
ascertain whether it is also called Bhāvanāmañjūsā,

29. Cf. यथास्मदीयाः मां पुरुषोत्तमं निश्चित्य भजन्ति....

MS P.264. तस्मादिदं तु मे परमस्वातंत्रिकं लिखनं तेजामिव भोजनयोग्यं-

30. Cf. तस्मादिदं तु मे परमस्वातंत्रिकं लिखनं तेजामिव भोजनयोग्यं

न तु तदितरेणामिति... बोद्धव्यम्।- MS P.65. Cf.

also footnote on 27(2) *ibid.* of this chapter.

mentioned in his tract on ^{the} Gayatrī - Bhāṣya,³¹ or whether it is called Bhāva-ratna-mañjūṣā, as mentioned by Shri Vasantram Shastri in his History of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga³² (Gujarati). But it should be noted here that the long com uses the word Bhāvanā-mañjūṣā figuratively at some places.³³ The long com shows the true spirit of the Puṣṭimārga and the Gopīs and hence it is possible that GO might have called it Bhāvanā-mañjūṣā.

The long com is not so far printed³⁴ and is not available in its entirety. Fortunately, I got two MSS of this com, which were in good and legible condition, although incorrect at several

31. Cf.... इत्यत्र महावाक्यार्थरहस्यं मया भावनामंजूषायामुद्धाटितं विज्ञेयं ।
- Gayatrī-bhāṣya edited by M.G. Shastri P. 5 (third edition).

32. Cf. P.84 (first edition : 1982 V.S.).

33. Cf. तथैव श्रीमद्वज्रेन्द्रसङ्गोनि प्रभुशयनानन्तरे.... स्वस्व भावनामंजूषायामुद्धाटय.... सर्वा रमन्ति। - -

-MS P.156 .. Vide also MS PP.157 - 158.

34. A free Gujarati translation of some of its part is printed in some of the issues of ^{the} Puṣṭī-bhakti-sudhā (Vol. IV to VII), where substance of other available comm is also given.

places.³⁵ The MS, which I got from P. Porbandar, contains 297 pages of 8.3" x 4.3" size and was undated. It begins with the sentence - - - - -
तेषु निमग्नानामेव तत्तदर्थविबोधात् संस्पर्शपूर्वको भवति
नान्येषामिति भावः, and ends with the words
... विश्वरूपांतरभजनादिष्वन्याश्रयादिष्वनुसर्तव्यमिति यावत्।

Thus the com on the first two stanzas (nearly) and the last thirteen stanzas (nearly) i.e. from the 67th name of VL) is not available. The Ujjain MS is even more incomplete than the Porbandar

35. I am indebted to Gosvami Shri Madhavrayaji of P. Porbandar and Shri Jamnadas Zalani of Ujjain for sending the MSS to me. Both of them are incomplete. The Porbandar MS is not very old and is written on blue paper manufactured in London. - - Some pages have the date 1868 in it, which can be seen by holding up the paper in the sunlight or electric light. The MS appears to be a copy of some older MS, for the number of the leaves begin with 1, even though some part of the beginning is not there. It may^{be} some 50 to 75 years old. The Ujjain MS is taken down on the note-book-size paper, perhaps some 25 to 30 years ago.

MS. 36

VL is the founder of the sect and naturally the followers look upon ~~xx~~ him as an incarnation of God. The SS is, therefore, considered to be the 'Gāyatrī' of the Puṣṭimārga.³⁷ Just as the twice-born (dviija)

36. Shri Jannadas Zalani of Ujjain, who owns the MS wrote to me that a complete MS of the com was in possession of some Bharuclī Vaisṇava, who used to read daily at least the beginning and the end of the com. Whenever he went out, he took those parts (beginning and end) of the com with him. Once when he was out on some journey, he expired and those parts of the com, which he took with him, were irretrievably lost. It is impossible to ascertain the truth of this account, but in present circumstances, it appears that a complete MS of the long com ~~is~~ is inaccessible. I inquired of some well known Bharuclīs and at Vallabhaghāṭa (Gokul), but could not get any information about the com or its lost parts.

37. Cf. सर्वोत्तम स्तोत्र आचार्य चरण को नामात्मक स्वरूप है, जा प्रकार श्री भागवत कृष्ण को नामात्मक स्वरूप है। यही संप्रदाय की बीजात्मक गायत्री है। - -VS Vol.X-No.2 P.21.

are enjoined to utter the Gāyatrī everyday without fail, followers of the Puṣṭīmārga are enjoined to recite the SS everyday without fail. In Gujarat, most of the Vaiṣṇavas recite daily its Gujarati translation, which is rendered by Dvārkeś'ajī.

The brief com of the SS begins with a maṇigala of three stanzas. In the second stanza GO says that he is not qualified to write a com on the names ~~of~~ (or epithets) of S'rī VL and hopes to get qualified by his grace.³⁸ It shows the humble attitude of GO and the word 'Svīyatvena' indicates that he has full confidence in his sevility (dāsatva) and the mercifulness of the Guru VL.

Then, GO informs of the purpose of the 'stotra', which is to reveal the form (svarūpa) of VL and also the purpose of his birth. He comments on each and every word of the 'stotra', with a view to bringing out its true import. For example, the words शुद्धं साकृति (SS St.1) are explained as

आनन्दमात्रकरपादमुखोदरादिरूपं तदपि साकृति आकारसहितं
न तु मायावादादि भ्रातृन्तशास्त्रप्रतिपादितब्रह्मवन्निराकारम्^{38(a)}

38. Cf. यद्यप्ययोग्य एवाहं तस्मान्मृतिं स्वतः।

स्वीयत्वेन कृपया योग्यता मयि दास्यति॥ - GVS P-1.

38(a) Cf. GVS - p.2.

The purpose of the com is also to show God's form according to the S'uddhādvaita doctrine. He shows logical connection between one verse and the other, between one name and the next name. For example, in the second stanza of the SS, it is said that the greatness of the Lord is not properly known even by the learned on account of the influence of the Kali age. The commentator raises a prima facie view: if that is so, how could the author, VT, know it? The commentator replies that it is only on that account that the author of the SS says the Hari will be kind to ^{manifest} ~~test~~ his greatness to him. Here the word greatness (महात्म्य) is understood as having the nature of the bliss of Puṣṭimārgīya līlā (पुष्टिमार्गिलीलारसभावात्मक) - and not in the ordinary sense.

The first three stanzas of the SS are applicable to the Lord, Hari. GṠ has shown that they can also be applied to VL who is the mouth-~~or~~ face-incarnation (Mukhāvatāra) of the Lord.

As regards the purpose of the 108 names of VL, the long com says that some of the names give causes for the propriety of the birth of VL while some of the names are indicative of his Agni-svarūpa leading to the realization of the highest fruit, and therefore, the impediments in the realization of their meaning will be removed ~~by the greatness of the Lord.~~

by the greatness of the Lord.³⁹

In spite of some long compounds and some long sentences at some places, the brief com is simple and brings out the import of the 108 names very well. The long com treats of various subjects, related to the Puṣṭimārga, even by digressing from the mainpoint of discussion.

Following is the substance of his thoughts on the S'uddhādvaita Philosophy.

According to GO, the highest Brahman or Puruṣottama is Kṛṣṇa who is द्विधाशृंगाररसात्मक, अलौकिक, साकार, कौटिकंदर्पसावण्य, - pure eternal,⁴⁰ all pervading and all bliss. All His sports

39. Cf. तत्रापि हेतुः। कतिपयानि नामानि भूमावतरणानुकूलरूपाणि तत्तत्कार्यकारणरूपाणि कतिपयानि नामानि मुखारविंदमल-फला-नुभवागन्त्यवयवात्मकानि यतः तेषामर्थविबोधस्तु वस्तु विचारेण दुर्लभतर एवात एव तदर्थविबोधसिद्धये अशिलाघरहृदिति।

- MS - P.11.

40. E.g. Cf. भजनानंदरमणाप्रियस्य बहोपीडुनटवरवपुः श्रीमत्स्वामिनीनां निगूढभावकौटिकंदर्पात्मकस्य नित्यकेशोरवेशधारिण आकृतेः नित्यत्वात् विकृतितत्त्वस्यासंभवात् सदेकस्थाविभावरूपाकृतिरवधेया।

-MS - P - 151.

are eternal and beyond the ken of our intelligence.⁴¹

He is above Akṣara, beyond the ken of Veda and the word, faultless and having contradictory attributes.⁴²

He is the Prameya (the sole object to be known)⁴³, who uplifts and allows in this divine sports, the souls by his premeṣa-bala,⁴⁴ which is defined as यत्र साधनानपेक्षत्वं तत्रैव पूर्णप्रमेयबलत्वं मंतव्यं भवति। - - - - - 45

Kṛṣṇa is the Purnāvatāra and ~~the~~ all the others are the anisāvatāras.⁴⁶ In another context, he is described as the deep esoteric bhāva of S'ri Svāminījī.⁴⁷

41. Cf. ब्रह्मे तु स्थायिभवेवैकरूपत्वात् भगवत्प्रादुर्भाविष्यापि स्थायित्वाद्
ब्रजाखिलसामग्र्यादेर्नित्यत्वं.. I-MS - P.80.

42. Vide MS PP.113, 114, 118, 142, 144, 150, and footnote No.47 below.

43. Cf. प्रमेयं च शुद्धं परब्रह्म..... - MS P.35.

44. Cf. वस्तुतो मूलतो बलभागाग्न्यंगीकृतजीवानामेतन्मायङ्गीकारः
प्रमेयबलस्वभावात्..... I--MS P.24-25.

45. MS - P.253. 46. Vide MS PP.76-80.

47. Cf. साक्षाद् भजनानन्दपुरुषोत्तमः अक्षरातीतवैदातीतः शब्दातीतो
ब्रह्माण्डातीतः श्रीमत्स्वामिनीनां निगूढभावः कृष्णपदार्थो नान्यो
स्पर्शः । - - - - - MS - P.189 Cf. also the words:

४४ प्रत्यक्षामिनीभावः कृष्णपदार्थः पुष्टिमात्रे तत्त्वः ।-MS - P.27. ?

GO accepts S'rutis as the pramāṇa, for the knowledge of Brahman, but at the same time, he considers the BG, especially the Phala-prakarana (BG X - Chapter 26 to 32) therein, to be the sole authority to understand the Bhagavatīīa.⁴⁹ According to GO, the Phalaparakarana is the hidden meaning of the BG.

VL is the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa's Mouth (Face), born to uplift those souls, who participated in the divine sport of Kṛṣṇa and have afterwards fallen from that highest position. He is the Divine Fire, the fire of separation from the Lord.⁵⁰ His sevārūpa is bhāvātmaka and the bhāva is threefold (Svāminī - Bhāva -, Kṛṣṇa - bhāva and their communion).⁵¹ He has propounded the doctrine of Pustimārga, whose

48. Cf. ...श्रुतय एव ब्रह्मणि प्रमाणम्... । - GVS - P.18.

49. Cf. श्रीभागवतपदात्... परमोपास्यरूपं तस्मिन्नेव तन्मूलज्ञान-
प्रकाशकत्वमुक्तमिति।- MS - P. 25, and तत्तु फलप्रकरणीय
एव रसात्मके भागवते, अतो रससमूहात्मकत्वं फलप्रकरणीयस्य
रासादेरनुक्तं सिद्धमस्ति। - - - MS - P.32. Vide also the
discussion on BG. I - 1-3 - MS - P. 29 to 35.

50. Cf. स्वस्य मुखारविन्दमलफलवियोगाग्निरूपत्वात् । - MS-P.91.

51. Cf. वस्तुतः स्वत एव तत्तत्रितयात्मकं तथापि भिन्नतया वक्ष्यते।-
-MS - P.114.

52. Cf. ...तायाग्निरुज्ज्वालासंप्रदानप्रवर्तकं..... । - MS - P.90.

essence is the flames of the fire of separation from the Lord⁵² and it is he who is able to give the true knowledge of the sect. The following lines will make it clear : -

स्वस्यमुख्यतयाग्निबीजात्मकत्वेन भक्तिमार्गाब्जमार्तण्डत्वेन
स्वाभिनीस्त्रीभावाग्न्यात्मकस्य रसात्मकब्रह्मणो मुखारविंदाधिष्ठातृत्वात्
तत्तुश्रीविशिष्टत्वेन यः फलरूपः कृष्णस्तस्य स्वरूपतो लीलारसभावतः
साधनतः फलतः च यद् बहुनि रूपाणि प्रदर्शकं भक्तिरसनिभृतं
पुष्टिभक्तिमार्गीयं ज्ञानं ददाति इति श्रीकृष्णज्ञानदः।⁵³

Go shows well the difference between other bhāṣyakāras and VL. S'ankara and other have written comm on the BS, but they have resorted to indication (lakṣaṇa) in interpreting the aphorisms, but VL has given the directly expressed (abhidheya) meaning of the aphorisms.⁵⁴ He is the

52. Cf. तापाग्निज्वालासंप्रदायप्रवर्तकं.....।- MS-P.90.

53. MS - P.159.

54. Cf. यद्यपि शंकराचार्यादीनामपि व्याससूत्रभाष्यकर्तृत्वं वर्तते तथापि तत्र लक्षणामाश्रित्य सूत्रार्थव्याख्यानात्तस्य "सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म" "रसो वै स" इत्याद्युपनिषद्वाक्यविरोधान्न साक्षात्तत्त्वसूत्रभाष्य - प्रतिपादकत्वामाचार्याणां तु..... इत्याद्युपनिषद्वाक्याविरोधेन ब्रह्म धर्मप्रतिपादनपूर्वकं साक्षात्सूत्रार्थनिरूपकत्व/ज्ञापनायोग्यं तत्तत्त्वसूत्र- भाष्यप्रदर्शक इति ।- - - - - GVS - P.74-75.

greatest exponent of the BG and is, in a way, the life of the devotees, for it is he who becomes instrumental in attaining the ultimate fruit. Like VT, GO has also shown over-enthusiasm in applying some of the S'rutis to VL.⁵⁵ There is no propriety in so interpreting the S'rutis as to applying them to VL.

The long com also describes the true nature of the Puṣṭimārga and its fruit. The Puṣṭimārga is प्रमाणातिरिक्तं लोकेदातीतं and is eternal.⁵⁶ In this sect, experiencing of the sense of separation from the Lord is most important,⁵⁷ it is t̥apāt̥maka, and the Gopīs ~~and~~ are to be taken as the ideal devotees.⁵⁸ Therefore, GO says that the main object of human existence (puruṣārtha) is no other than the worship of the Lord,⁵⁹ and that one should not remain satisfied with the initiation, but has to experience inwardly the intense pangs

55. Vide MS - P.224.

56. Cf. आविर्भावतिरोभावाभ्यां पुष्टिभक्तिमार्गस्य नित्यत्वात्। - MS - P.74.

57. Cf. अस्मिन् मुखारविंदफलवियोगाग्निभक्तिमार्गे.....। - MS - P.283.

58. Cf. ... ब्रजवद्वेषोषसीमंतिनीनां भक्तिमार्गोपलक्षकं... etc. ! - MS.P.64.

59. Cf. स्वमार्गे भगवद्भजनस्यैव परमपुरुषार्थत्वं नान्यस्य। - MS - P.116.

of separation from the Lord.⁶⁰ The fruit (phala) of the Puṣṭimārga is not what is ordinarily called mukti, but experience of the svarūpa of Rasātnaka Brahman,⁶¹ which is described as tasting the nectar of the lower lip of Kṛṣṇa. This type of 'phala' is obtained through the personal grace of Svāmījī.⁶²

There are other things, pertaining to the Puṣṭimārga, that are referred to in the long com. Among the hindrances to sevā, GO says, one is the remembrance of everything other than the personal deity.⁶³ As regards, the eatables to be prepared for the Lord, GO says that the action (kriyā) is not

60. Cf. यतोस्मिन्मार्गे आगत्यैव नामनिवेनादिकसंस्कारान् समधिगम्य निश्चिततां न व्रजेयुः मार्गस्य पूर्वोक्त प्रकारेण विरहाग्नि्यात्मकत्वात्।

.... तस्मात् तदीयैरपि निरंतरं पठनीयमिदं मन्त्रं हा कृष्ण मुखारविन्दविरहाग्निः गुप्तयाऽनिशं भृशं देहकृत्यादावपि मनसि पठनीयम् । - - - - - MS-P.295.

61. Cf. साक्षाद्भगवन्मुखारविन्दफलवियोगाग्निभक्तिमार्गीयाणां मुक्तिफलतिरिक्तसाक्षाद्द्विधाशृंगाररसरूपस्य रसात्मकब्रह्मणो भगवतः स्वरूपानुभवफलसम्बन्धस्यैव फलत्वात्.....। - - - MS-P.24.

Vide also MS - P. 87.

62. Cf. परंतु तद्दानं तु वल्लभाग्निवंशेऽपि श्रीमत्स्वामिनीनां कृपापूर्ण-प्रमेयबलेनैव भवति, नान्यः सार्धः । - - - MS - P.290.

63. Cf. स्वसेव्यातिरिक्तानुसंधानस्मृतेश्च एवं कियन्तः सेवादिषु प्रतिबन्धका जीवधर्माः । - - - - - MS - P. 165.

important there, but the attitude (bhāva) of Svāminī, with which they are to be prepared and offered, is important. As regards the scriptural injunctions about the performance of the Vedic rites, GO quite categorically says that everything to be used in such rites must be first surrendered to the Lord, otherwise, the devotee would commit the fault of 'anyās'raya'. As regards the worship of the wooden-feet (pādukā-sevana), he has stated that they are to be worshipped with the same attitude as we have for the Lord, but certain rules are to be followed.⁶⁴ In this con, he describes his father Vṛ as having the real 'śrī-bhāva' required for the attainment of the Puṣṭimārgīya phala.⁶⁵

Some important information is also supplied by the Badī-tīkā, which is as follows:

64. Cf. परंतु तत्रापि मार्गमयदियोत्सवादिषु प्रस्तावे तिलकादिकं विधाय हस्तक्षालनं कृत्वा पुनः भगवत्सामग्र्यादिषु स्पर्शादिकं क्रियते। तथाकरणौ प्रत्युत प्रत्यवायो भवेदेव न तत्र सदेहः। तस्मान्मार्गाचार्येण प्रभुबुद्ध्या तेषां चरणारविन्दयोः सेवनं प्रभुदेव।
- MS - P.261.

65. Cf. अग्नि कुमारस्य साक्षाद्भजनानंदं पुरुषोत्तमं मुखारविन्दफलस्त्रीभावा गूढखिलभावसंपत्यवयवात्मकत्वात्.....। -
MS - P. 291.

(1) It is said the VL wrote AnBh upto BS - III - 2 - 33 and the remaining portion was written by VT. This is corroborated by the following statement of GO. : -

... इति तु अस्मत्प्रभुवरणीरणुभाष्यतृतीयाध्यायतृतीय-
वरणी प्रपञ्चितमस्ति। - 66

(2) That VT wrote a tract on the Nyāsādes'a, is proved by the statement, viz.
न्यासादेशेषु धर्मत्यजनवचनतो.....सिद्धः। तदुपरि पितृवरणानां
लेखेभरामर्शान्तरीयत्वविचारणात्.....etc.⁶⁷
Nothing is stated here about the authorship of the Nyāsādes'a, but it is ascribed to VL in the com on the St.25 of the SS.⁶⁸

(3) That the followers of GO began to look upon him as the highest Lord during his life-time, is proved by the ~~vk~~ following statement :

यथास्मदीयाः मां पुरुषोत्तमं निश्चित्य भजन्ति तेन किं
प्रकटितशुद्धपुष्टिभक्तिमार्गाचार्याणां प्रसन्नता सिध्यति। न कदापीत्यर्थः।
स्तेषामाग्रहविषये भगवदिच्छैव (इच्छाया एव) नियामकत्वाद्
अस्माकमप्याग्रही नास्ति। 69

66. MS - P. 192.

67. Ujjain MS - P. 231 - 232.

68. Cf.... "न्यासादेशेष्वि" त्यादिना स्वीयेणूपदेशकतः ^{ती-6VS P.60.} 6VS-P-60.

69. MS - P.264.

It appears that GO tried⁶⁵ dissuade his disciples from looking upon him as God, but they did not cease to do so. Even to-day, there is a section of Vaisnavas, called Bhaktis, who worship GO as the Highest Lord.

(4) Go refers to a new twelve-syllable mantra, with which few devotees are conversant to-day and which was taught by VT.⁷⁰

(5) Damodardas and Padmanabhdas are referred to⁷¹ the close devotees (antaraṅga bhaktas) at several places and Prabhudas is mentioned only once.⁷¹

Go, in this work, discusses an important problem of the Puṣṭimarga. It is traditionally believed that all the descendents of VL are to be looked upon as VL himself and the authority of VT is cited in this connection.⁷²

70. Cf. ... तदीयैरपि निरंतरं पठनीयमिदं मंत्रं हा कृष्ण मुखारविन्द-
विरहाग्निः गुप्ततया निश्चिं देहकृत्यादावपि मनसि पठनीयं। एतस्य
जप्यंतरे कश्चन प्रतिबन्धेनापि मध्ये व्यवधानो न कर्तव्य इति
पितृचरणीः यदुपदिष्टं मह्यं तत्तदेवास्माभिरप्युपदिश्यते । इदं
तु द्वादशाक्षरात्मकं मन्त्रं.....।-

- MS - P.295.

71. MS - P.93.

72. Cf. SS - St.22.

~~73. MS - P.93.~~

GO says that the words 'anvaya' and 'vanis'a' mean 'the son',⁷³ and that VL has passed his 'greatness' to his son only.⁷⁴ This is a very bold and revolutionary view. In his com on the stanza 'Asmat-kulam1....' ⁷⁵ GO holds the same view. He emphasizes that all the descendents of VL are not be taken as divine or as VL himself. How is it that GO held such an unusual view? Raghunāthajī, his younger brother interprets the word स्ववंश as अपत्यपरंपरा . No lexicon gives 'a son' as a meaning of the word 'Vanis'a' or 'anvaya'. So, from the viewpoint of literal interpretation, GO is not right in saying that ~~he~~ the word (vanis'a) or 'anavaya' means 'the son' and that too, Agnikumāra. Secondly, let us look at the interpretation from the probable view-point of the original writer of the stanza viz. VT. Did VT intend to say that VL had passed on his greatness and divinity to him, his son, VT, only? It would be highly improper on his (VT's) part to say so. It would be only

73. Cf. अवान्वयपदस्य पुत्रत्वं ज्ञेयं.....!- MS-P.285.

74. Cf.इत्यनेन स्ववंशेऽग्निकुमारे एवाशेषमाज्ञात्म्यं स्थापितम्।
- MS - P.287.

75. Lalita - tribhaṅgī - stotra, St.1.

self-praise and nothing else. Most probably, VT used the word 'Vamīś'a' or 'anuaya' to mean all the descendents. Then, the question arises, why GO gave such an untoward meaning to those words? A probable reply to ~~the~~ such a question can be attempted. GO lived fairly a long life of 89 years. During his life-time, he saw the sect well spread and well protected but he might have perhaps seen the beginning of its degeneration. The Mughal Emperors looked upon the Gosvāmīs with great respect and there was no harassment to the Gosvāmīs from the political quarters. When Jahangir and Shahjahan ruled, there was peace and plenty. The Gosvāmīs began to have considerably a good following and hundreds of their followers brought big amounts of money to them as presents. So, they were rolling into richness. This fact might have made some of the Gosvāmīs arrogant and puffed up and might have led them to believe that they were as great and divine as VL himself. Consequently, they might have ignored their true activities, viz., Bhagavat-sevā and spiritual leadership. They might have ceased to set an example of a true devotee. GO during his after-life, might have seen some of them

degenerated.⁷⁵ Such a condition of the sect and the Gosvāmīs might have induced GO to interpret the words '~~vanis~~' '~~vanis~~' and 'anṛaya' to mean 'the son', viz., VT only. He liked to tell them that it is only VT who had been as great as VL and not all of them were great; and that their family would be spotless only if Kṛṣṇa had accepted them as their own, and not by the fact that they were born in the family of VL.⁷⁷

From the practical point of view, GO's interpretation of the stanza in question, is very healthy and helpful. He lays stress on the qualities of character of the Gosvāmīs rather than their being descendants of VL. The stanza in question has been responsible for the degeneration of the sect. The Vaiṣṇavas began to look upon the ~~Gosvāmīs~~ Gosvāmīs as God incarnate and thought it their duty to dedicate to them. Consequently, the Gosvāmīs considered themselves to be divine and paid little attention to their spiritual development. GO, perhaps saw and foresaw such a danger in believing that all the descendants

75. It is said that GO's son, Gopālajī, had started a 'Jaya Gopāliya Pantha' in his name. According to another view, it was Raghunāthajī's son, who did so.

77. Vide GO's tract on 'Asmat Kulam!..'

of VL were as divine and great as himself (VL).
GO's interpretation, I think, is to be understood
in this light.⁷⁸

The cult of guru-pūjā is very old. VT
stated it in the Puṣṭimārga⁷⁹ and GO followed the
footsteps of his father. He showed the greatness
of VL in his comm on the SS and Vallabhāṣṭaka, and
emphasized even guru-sevā.

The study of these two comm on the SS
shows that the short one is quite simple and goes
generally to the point. The long one does not
explain the SS only, as shown above, but also treats
of a wide range of religious topics. It explains
the true nature of VL, and his sect, shows the
ideal way of life of a Puṣṭimārgīya devotee, gives
the S'uddhādvaitā view of the Vedic rites,
teaches the true spirit of worship (sevā) and
explains the nature of salvation, and the svarūpa of
Parabrahman Kṛṣṇa. It can be said that the long

78. Vide in this connection the following remarks
of GO : प्रकटित-साक्षाद् भगवन्मुखारविन्दफलवियोगाग्निभक्तिमार्गि
पि मुख्यभजनपरा अन्यभजनपरा व्यभिचाराव्यभिचारस्पष्टकाः प्रदर्शकाः
परिनिष्ठाः स्वस्वमूलपीठिकां भजनानंदब्रह्मानंदरूपां प्रदर्शयन्तः क्थिन्तः
सन्ति प्रभुचरणानां कुलेऽपि.....! - - MS. P.188.

79. Vide VT's Vallabhāṣṭaka and SS.

com on the SS is a good theological (and to a certain extent eschatological) exposition of the S'uddhādvaita Brahmanvāda.

In the Bādī-tīkā, we find GO at his best. It shows that he was a great exponent of the Puṣṭimārga. It evinces that he was fully conversant with all the works of VL and VT, the Purāṇas, especially the BG, the SS- S'rutis and the Gītā. He was no less than a critical scholar. While explaining the work, he raises the prima facie views, examines and refutes them and establishes the Puṣṭimārgīya view. He admits of alternative explanations and, at times, gives ingenious interpretations, including grammatical or etymological explanations.⁸⁰ At some places, there are farfetched explanations too. For example, while commenting on the word प्रवक्ष्यामि (SS St.4), he says that अत्र कथने प्रशब्दोपादानेन सिद्धानामेव नाम्नां प्रकाश-
कत्वेन तु कल्पयित्वा कथनमिति ज्ञापितम् । 81

It is not right to say that the prefix 'pra' indicates

80. Vide, e.g. Explanations of रौणदृक्षातसंप्लुष्टः

(MS - P.170), विरहः etc. (MS - P.222), भक्तिमागर्ज्जिमार्तण्डः

(MS - P.66), निगमतरुः (MS - p.29) etc.

81. GVS - P.79. Vide also the com on the word

त्रिलोकीभूषणम् , which is ingenious but farfetched.

such a meaning. It is ^{VT who} ~~not~~ narrated the names, and so it is not reasonable to say that the names were already there (siddha). He gives copious quotations from the works of VL, the BG and the Gītā and at times gives his own interpretations of such quotations. Thus we find in the Badī-tīkā some parts of his comm on Vallabhāṣṭaka, NL and his views on some of the stanzas of the BG, Sub and the UP₃.

The style of this work is like that of a bhāṣya. It explains each and every word with its logical context and gives esoteric sense of certain words. Mostly it is clear but at a few places, it is quite clumsy and makes its reading difficult to follow on account of very very long sentences. Irregular punctuation marked by the scribes also is responsible for making its reading difficult. These are certain expressions which occur off and on and make for its bulky composition e.g. मूललीलामध्यपातिनः, द्विधाशृंगाररसात्मकपुरुषोत्तम, साक्षाद्भक्त्यनुसारविंदफलवियोगाग्निः, वज्रवधोष्णरत्न - सीमृतिनीति, - - etc. If such expressions repeated mostly as adjectives, were removed, the bulk of the work can be reduced considerably. It

appears that the work is written in a deep spiritual mood (bhāvāvesā).

Of the six comm on the SS, mentioned above, I have come across only those by GO and Raghunāthajī. The com by Raghunāthajī is short and simple and is useful for ordinary devotees. GO's comm are comparatively elaborate and full of devotional passion (bhāva).

2. Com on the Vallabhāṣṭaka

The Vallabhāṣṭaka is a composition in 8 stanzas by S'rī VT. It is an eulogy of S'rī VL. Four comm on the Vallabhāṣṭaka^{81(a)} are available. The first is by GO, the second is by Puruṣottamajī, the third is by Raghunāthajī and the last is anonymous. Puruṣottamajī's com is a sub-com on the com of GO⁸² and is the longest of

81(a). It is published with the four comm by Shri Tribhuvandas P. Shah of Nadiad. The date of publication is not given on it.

82. Cf.श्रीमत्पुष्करणाः श्रीवल्लभाष्टकं चकृः, तदपि व्याख्यानमन्तरेण न सुबोधमिति श्रीगोकुलनाथवरणास्तद्विवरीतुं प्रतिजानते यत्पादरजसे-व्यादिद्वयाभ्यां.....भाट्टः नन्वि-यादि।P. 16. *ibid.*

all and brings out the meaning with many more illustrations from the scriptures. Raghunāthājī's com is the shortest and paraphrases the stanzas in simple language. The anonymous com is called Bhakti-rasa-jaladhi. It says that the first two stanzas describe the 'dharmī svarūpa' of VL and the later six describe his six attributes (dharma). GO's com is mentioned as vivarana in the beginning and at the end, while the second stanza of the ~~manigla~~ maṅgala mentions it as vivṛti.⁸³ Of course, there is no technical difference between a vivarana and a vivṛti, but this fact leads to a surmise that the lines in the beginning and at the end might have been written by a scribe.

The purpose of this enlogy is to show the divine nature of VL, who is the mouth-lotus (or head) of the highest Lord Kṛṣṇa. He (VL) is the divine Fire, different from the physical fire. The purpose of his birth is to give the true meaning of the Vedas to show the correct path of worship (sevā)

83. Cf. श्रीवल्लभविरचितं श्रीवल्लभाष्टकविवरणम् ।

GVS-P.83, इति श्रीमत्प्रभुवरणकशरण श्रीवल्लभविरचितं श्रीवल्लभाष्टक-
विवरणं संपूर्णम् । - -GVS P.101 and विवृतिः (विवृति?)
कर्तुमारब्धाः etc. -GVS - P.83.

and to uplift the divine soul⁴ and to lead them into the divine sport of Kṛṣṇa. Because he is the mouth⁵ of the Lord, he knows correctly the meaning of the Vedas. His word is the pramāṇa.⁸⁴ At the end, it is stated that VL is virtually Kṛṣṇa himself.

GO begins his com with an obeisance of his father and at the end he states that it is through his father's grace that he has been able to expose the meaning of the work and begs forgiveness of VL for his audacity to describe his (VL's) form. He has very well pointed out the meaning of the work. He shows how VL's teaching is different from other ācāryas. He says that the ultimate fruit of the path of convention (maryādā mārga) is salvation, while that of the path of grace is to be in close touch with the form of the Lord.⁸⁵ In the com on St.2, he has correctly explained the idea of salvation in different philosophical systems. In the com on St.4, he has shown the difference between 'sevā' and 'pūjā'.⁸⁶ When VT says that VL is Kṛṣṇa⁸⁷ and no one else, as is proved by experience and Vedic texts, GO, on his part illustrates the point by quoting the experience of

84. Cf. त्वदुद्विग्वचनादन्यथा रूपयन्ति भ्रान्ता ते....। St.3.

85. Cf. यथा मर्यादामार्गे मुक्तिः फलं तथा पुष्टिमार्गे साक्षात्पुरुषोत्तम-स्वरूपसम्बन्धः फलम्। - - - GVS - P.88.

86. Vide GVS - P. 93.

87. of वस्तुतः कृष्ण एव । - St . 8 ,GVS P.99.

Kṛṣṇadāsa who took fire in his hand and vowed that it should burn his hand, if VL was not Puruṣottama.⁸⁸ He illustrates the second proof (i.e. the Vedic texts) in this way: the Vedic texts declare that Brahman is the Highest Being and is Bliss; so is VL. Hence he is not different from Kṛṣṇa, the Highest Being, he is His incarnation.

Neither the eulogy nor the com of GO on it contains a phala-s'ruti. The language of the com is not simple but elaborate and at some places it is a little clumsy too. Sentences are full of long compounds and are unduly long.

One point needs to be noted here.

VT considers VL as Kṛṣṇa himself and GO, too, gives illustrations in favour of the statement.

This statement along with the epithet of VL,

स्वदेशे स्थापिताशेषमाहात्म्यः,⁸⁹

89-

is perhaps responsible for the later belief that all the descendents of VL are incarnations of the Lord. But GO held only VL and VT to be the divine incarnations.⁹⁰ Dr. H. V. Glasenapp rightly notes

88. Vide GVS - P.100. Vide also^{the} 84 Vārtās, story No.1.

89. SS - St. 22.

90. Vide his com on the SS St.22 and on the stanza 'Asmat kulam....'

that "These words (supposed that they are not a later addition) should perhaps express no dogmatic view, but should only express an exuberant homage full of piety towards the master, who preached the unity of all beings with Kṛṣṇa."⁹¹

VL is the Guru and traditionally the Guru is looked upon as God⁹² and therefore, VT is not wrong in describing him as God.

3. Com on 'Asmat-kulāṇi-niṣkalanāṁ'

VT wrote a work, named Lalita-tribhaṅga-stotra, containing 51 stanzas.⁹³ It describes the rasātmaka form and līlā of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The first stanza which is an oblation to VL, is as follows:

91. Dr. H.V. Glasenapp : Doctrines of Vallabhacharya, P.22 - 23 (footnote No.2).

92. Vide footnote No.20 above, Cf. also, यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ। तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥ -S'vetas'vatara Up, Chap. VI-23.

93. Vide BSSS - P.163.

...193...

नमः पितृपदाम्भोजरेणुभ्यो यन्निवेदनाम् ।

अस्मत्कुलं निष्कलं श्रीकृष्णोनात्मसात्कृतम् ॥

GO has written a tract⁹⁴ on the above stanza which means that "I bow down to the holy dust of the lotus-feet of my father, dedication to whom brings the spotlessness of our family, which gets accepted by Lord Kṛṣṇa." He first explains the word यन्निवेदनाम् and then the greatness of the Ācārya S'rī VL. He states that the family of VT is not unimpeachable and impeccable, only because the male members of the family are the agnat~~e~~ descendants of VL, the Divine Fire and the mouth-incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. GO opines that unless one has completely surrendered oneself with all the spirit to Vallabhāgni, unless one has renounced meanness and unless one has engaged all the senses and mental propensities in the worship of God, one's family is not spotless. Otherwise, GO continues, why VL would warn his sons in the celebrated S'ikṣās'lokaḥ? It is emphasized that self-surrender (ātmanivedana) is imperative for all the Gosvāmīs.⁹⁵

94. It is published in Anugraha Vol. II No.2 and also in a pamphlet named श्रीमद्वल्लभाचार्य-वंशस्वरूपनिरूपणम् - in which it is printed on 4 pages of the size of 10" x 6½".

95. Cf. . . . द्विपाशुंगाररसनिहित संपत्त्याश्रये निवेदनादेव अस्मत्कुलस्य निष्कलंकता निष्प्रत्यूहास्त्येव सेत्स्यति च ।
- P.6 - ibid.

...197...

GO here refers to his com on the SS and reminds the readers of his interpretation of the word 'vamsa' as "the son" in it. The following lines give the gist of tract :

किंविक्तनिखिलानंदपरमानंदरसात्मकसाकारब्रह्मणो
विविधसंचितविचित्रभावात्विभूतिसंदर्भाश्रये साक्षान्छुद्रसात्करमण-
पुरुषोत्तममुखारविन्दवत्त्वभाग्नी अग्निकुलस्य निवेदनसंस्कारपरिणाम-
फलानुभूत्यभावात् साक्षान्मुखारविन्दाग्न्याद्वंदसंदोहनिष्कर्षस्या-

Through inadvertence,
pages Nos. 194, 195 & 196
are not given.

'fullness' (purnatva) or vb.

The tract, together with the long com on the SS St.22,⁹⁷ expresses a revolutionary and, at
96. Ibid P.7.

97. Com on the 'Asmat-kulani-....' is also referred to in the Badi-tika. Vide: यद्यप्यस्मत्कुलं निष्कलंकमित्युक्तमग्नि-
कुमारिः परंतु भगवन्मुखारविन्दफलवत्त्वभाग्न्याभिस्वानुभव-दाहाधिसुखानुभवे
एव न तु तद्रहिते । - - - - -MS-P.292.

the same time, original view as regards the divinity of the Gosvāmīs. GO is not prepared to accept any descendent of VL as divine, only because he is born in the family of VL. But he lays emphasis on his having true spirit of the Lord's worship. The spirit of such an interpretation corresponds to what VL says in his TDN. According to VL a devotee should have such a guru as is free from pretension etc., as is the knower of the meaning of the BG and as worships himself the Lord; in the absence of such a guru, VL says, he should himself institute an idol and worship the Lord.⁹⁸

The tract is very short, but brings out GO as a true exponent of the spirit of the Puṣṭimārga. It shows GO as an original and non-traditional thinker. Its language is very tough; it is full of long compounds and sentences, and, therefore, beyond the ken of ordinary persons. Only those persons who are accustomed to read difficult Sanskrit prose, can follow the tract. It reminds us of

98. Cf. TDN Chap. II., ST.225-226.

Bāna's Kādambarī.⁹⁹

4. Com on the Gokulāṣṭaka

The Gokulāṣṭaka is a small work, in 9 stanzas, by VT. It contains 32 names or epithets of Gokule'sa. There is nothing poetic about it. It emphasizes that Lord Kṛṣṇa is the life and soul of Gokul.

There are some MSS¹⁰⁰ in Kāñkarolī ,

99. Vrajanātha, son of Raghunāthajī, has written a com. on the Lalita-tribhaṅga-stotra, which is available in the Dahilaxmi Library of Nadiad. It is very simple, just a paraphrase of the stanzas. Ghanas'yāmajī is also said to have written such a com, and its MS is treasured in Kāñkarolī. Unfortunately, I could have no access to it, when I have had been there.

100. In some MSS (e.g. Hindi No.92/1 & 85/1/5), the work is ascribed to VL. But generally, it is taken as the work of VT. In one of the comm on Madhurāṣṭaka, ascribed to Vallabha alias GO, it is stated that अत एव प्रमुभिः तथैवोक्तं श्रीमद्गोकुलाष्टके "श्रीमद्गोकुलतारक " इति ।—

-P.50, Madhurāṣṭaka, edited by Shri Telivala and published by Pustimārgīya Yuvaka Parishad - Bombay.

which contain GO's com on the Gokulāṣṭaka in Vrajabhāṣā. MS No.89/16 (P.266) begins in this

way : अब श्री गोकुलाष्टककी टीका लिख्य है। तहां प्रथम

श्री गुसांइजी आचार्यजी महाप्रभुन को नमस्कार करत हैं। श्लोक

नमो आचार्य सर्वस्वं..... महानिधि ॥१॥ या को अर्थ अब

श्रीहरिरायजी करत है..... etc. MS No.90/2 (P. 90)

begins in this way : अब श्री गोकुलनाथजी प्रथम श्री आचार्यजी

को श्री गुसांइजी को नमस्कार करत हैं। काहे तें जो गोकुलाष्टककी टीका

करिवे में मौको योग्यता होई तब श्री गोकुलाष्टककी टीका करी जाई॥

या भांति मनमें विचारि पाछे प्रार्थना को श्लोक करत हैं । श्लोक

नमो आचार्य सर्वस्वं..... महानिधि: ॥ याको अर्थ अब श्रीगोकुलनाथजी कहत है.....।

The colophon of this MS reads:

याप्रकार श्रीगोकुलनाथजी वैष्णव कों शिक्षा देत हैं जो वैष्णव तुम

श्रीगुसांइजीके वचनमें विश्वास मानि नेम करि श्रीगोकुलाष्टककी पाठ करो।

एहु शिक्षा कीए । इति श्री गोकुलाष्टक श्रीगुसांइजी कृत

की टीका श्रीगोकुलनाथजीकृत संपूर्ण।

101. I have seen one more MS of this com. It is

in possession of Shri Chimanlal M. Vaidya of

Kapadvanj. It is generally the same as MS No.90/2

of Kāṅkaroli. But there is some difference in the

colophon, in which it is stated: तातें श्री हरिरायजी

कहत है जो श्री गुसांइजी को कियो जो मूं ग्रंथ श्रीगोकुलाष्टक रसरूप

ताकी टीका भाषामें कहि है तातें श्रीगुसांइजी मौकहं प्रसन्न रहियो।

We find from the above extracts of the ~~comm~~, that according to the first MS the com is written by Harirāyaji, while according to the second MS it is written by GO. The first MS differs from the second one at some places, but mostly they are similar. However, the second MS quite clearly states that GO is the author of the com. It is not clear whether he wrote it first in Samskrta and then translated it in Vraja. It is possible that GO wrote in Samskrta and Harirāyaji translated in Vraja. It is equally possible that he might have written the com in Vraja only.

The com begins as usual with obeisance to the Ācārya and VT. Then he explains each and every name. The com emphasizes that Kṛṣṇa's sports (līlā) in Gokul are eternal and beyond understanding, and therefore, beyond description. It states that they are the sports of Pūrṇa Paruṣottama and that VL and VT are always there in Gokul, and therefore, it is beautiful. Gokul is the divine place of Kṛṣṇa's sports and hence residence in Gokul is recommended to the devotees, for it would lead to all types of

mystic experiences.¹⁰²

The com is in quite simple Vrajabhāsa prose¹⁰³ and brings out the meaning of the aṣṭaka very well. Its style is very pleasant. The fruit of its reading is that the divine sports of Kṛṣṇa are impressed firmly in the devotee's heart.

5. Com on the Guptarasa

The Guptarasa¹⁰⁴ is a small work in 31 stanzas, written by VT. The meaning of the title is 'secret sentiment'. The purpose of the work is to

102. Cf. जो कोई संसाररूपी तापके भस्म भये जीव दुःखी जे आई के श्रीगोकुलरूपी चंद्रमा को जो आश्रय करत है तिनको श्रीगोकुल भगवान् दरस रूपी अमृत सों सिंच के उनको सीतल करत हैं। तानें श्रीगुसांईजीनें श्रीमद्गोकुलराकेश कहे। " - - -

Kāñkaroli MS No. 89/16, P.97.

(I have not seen or heard of this com published anywhere. It is worth publishing.)

103. Even though the chapter is titled 'Sanskṛta Works,' such comm are included in this chapter for the sake of convenience.

104. It is published in the BSSS on P.192 to 195.

श्रीगुरुदेवाय नमः॥ प्रियामिः स्थापितो गुरुः प्रियेण चतुर्धरः॥ विदुर्लोकतया
 तस्य वर्णनेन हः हः प्रोभवतः॥१॥ तत्कृपाजलसेवेन जातभावां हरेण हि॥ तस्य भावं व
 र्णयामि तत्तात्पर्यं पञ्चवाक्यं॥२॥ त्रिगीत्रे तदा सप्तम्या परवशाः प्रियं कुरु वराणां
 स्वप्रिययोर्मिशोरसंतत्यता तमध्यपातित्वात्सायुभूतमत्राशयंति॥ पयोदध्या
 मो प्रियाः प्रियं वदतु यो धर्मवत्तु वै हरेरनुकूलं॥ विविधरसभोज्यमिदं ह
 विधाया ध्यायार्थं चित्तं चित्तं रुचिरपात्रे पुररुसि प्रियं प्राप्या वस्त्रं विप्रसि
 मवोचन् प्रियतमाः॥१॥ पयोदधीति-यन्नपय-यादि सप्तपदाध्यायिकं
 तास्तथा विद्यतं गोधूमादिविविधमद्रोपयोगीति षडेव ते भवन्ति॥ प्राण
 प्रियार्थं न वेत्ति मा एव पदार्थः संपादित इत्यनुकूलं हि लुक्॥ तैर्विविधर
 सभोज्यं भोक्तुं योग्यं वस्तु प्रियं हृदयतनूवसंवलितमनसा परमस्नेहेन विधाय
 मयं॥

A photocopy of the first and the last pages of
 Sri Gokulanāthajī's commentary on the Gupta-
 rasa of Sri Vitthalanāthajī.
 (By courtesy of Dahi Laxmi Library of
 Nadiad)

ज्ञाताय नमो विना॥२॥ ॥ अयमिति ॥ तस्मात्तस्मिन्नेतमया तुल्योक्तो यमनोरपः॥ मम
 रेषोपाते यस्य तादृशी ज्ञानावशिष्टेः॥ यथा यथा मतो धावति तथा तथैवातिनायः स्वे
 संमामोति तस्मादृशी ज्ञानावशिष्टेन कर्तुं शक्यः॥ अस्मत्सर्वतात्॥ एतादृशस्तु सर्वात्म
 ज्ञावलीधेयोत्पद्यते पूर्णं न वति॥ सर्वसमर्प्यतात्॥ अतोऽनेनैव न विना तस्मादिष
 योत्सर्प्य॥ एतन्नूरकोपि श्रीगोकुलाधीशश्च ज्ञावेन पालकस्तत्सर्वरसजो कुरतो वै
 कुं वताम्ये पितरूः॥ मयोदाति यम्यतात्॥ एवमकारेणियमार्थो न विताते वर
 कस्तु न यमसवभते॥ तस्मान्नेपि नियममाकु॥ ज्ञानेति एतज्ज्ञातापिमं विना नो न॥
 तत्तत्तमभयतितादस्य ते दत्तावादित्यर्थः॥ ॥ नियमो यद्यपि ज्ञेयः प्रचुरलोकात्प
 विदुर्ज्ञाने तत्तरेणुवाचोपतापिरूपिताः॥१॥ अतः प्रचुरं ज्ञेयं तरेणुवाचोपतापि
 नाश्वशमेन वात्तातामयायुमरसोत्त॥२॥ ॥ इति श्रीविठलेस्वरविरचितं गुप्त
 रसमात्रा ॥ इति श्रीविठलेस्वरविरचितं गुप्तमात्रा ॥

show how greatly and profoundly the Gopīs loved Kṛṣṇa. They prized his sight (dars'ana) and company most. They prepared various sweets and several preparations of milk with sugar and spices and tempted their Lord to come to their houses to taste them. They kept those things on the slings (s'ikyas), but, bearing in mind the facility of Balakṛṣṇa, they kept these stools, big utensils pounding clubs etc., so that Kṛṣṇa could climb them and easily reach those sweets. Not only that the clever Gopīs anticipated that as long as the elderly and ~~to~~ other persons were there, Kṛṣṇa would not be able to come to their houses and therefore, they induced Him to create certain opportunities to seduce the elders out of houses, or to engage them in other household business. They expected that Kṛṣṇa should let loose the calves, awaken the sleeping children and steal away and enjoy the sweets in the company of His friends. The Gopīs then, would go to Yasodā, inform her of His Kṛṣṇa's mischiefs and would pretend to scold her but would inwardly experience indescribable feelings (bhāvas) at the sight of their

Lord.¹⁰⁵

The work, thus, describes some of the sports (mischiefs) of Lord Kṛṣṇa. But this is only the apparent meaning. As the title of the work suggests, it has some hidden sense, viz. Gopīs' esoteric love for the Lord. The work, therefore, is symbolical in nature.

GO has written a com on this work, and has very well brought out the hidden sense of the work. The author gives, in the beginning of the com on each of the stanzas, its purpose. Each of the stanzas is as it were, an answer to an anticipated question or a doubt raised by the Lord and the whole work is interpreted as a dialogue between the Gopīs and Kṛṣṇa, with the speeches of the latter suppressed.

105. Cf. यदोपालम्भमिव ताः कर्तुं मातृपदांतिके।
 ग/तास्तदा प्रियतमप्रक्षणेन विलक्षणाः॥
 तरंगा इव रागाब्धेरुदिताः प्रिययोर्मिथः।
 भावा वक्तुमशक्यास्तै विज्ञेयास्त्वत्कृपाबलात्॥

- Guptarasa St. 28-29.

The com¹⁰⁶ shows that there are two meanings of the work: one is the word-sense, apparent meaning, and the other is the hidden or esoteric meaning, viz., profound and undivulged 'rasa' of the lovers. The commentator points this out by the words: अयं मूलार्थः। भावार्थस्तु.. etc.

106. It is so far not published. I have read it in MS which is available in the Dahilaxmi Library of Nadiad. The MS contains 19 pages of the size of 4½" x 9½", but pages 12, 13, 14 are missing and so com on st. 13 to 19 is lost. The readings of the stanzas in the MS are similar to those printed in the Puṣṭisudhā Vol.IV - No.2 - 3, in which free Vrajabhāṣā translation of the com is published. I have read also an incomplete free Vrajabhāṣā translation of the com, which is in possession of Shri P.T. Kavi of Nadiad. The Vrajabhāṣā translation of the com is full of mistakes, but is important because it gives some different readings of the Guptarasa. For example, it reads : -शोणे शिष्ये (st.6), धृतदुग्ध (st.9) ज्ञाताप्यन्यो न सा (?)विना (st.31) instead of शोणे शिष्ये, धृतदुग्ध and ज्ञात्वाप्यन्यो न भवितुः etc.

Two MSS (No.61/29 and 74/43, dated 1813 and 1900 V.S.) are available in Kāṅkērolī. Two more are available in the MS library of Gujarat Vidyasabha-Ahmedabad. All of these MSS ^{of the com} are ascribed to GO.

In the com on the first stanza, GO says that the Lord is simple and artless and, therefore, the beloved GOpī here teaches Him how to enjoy the flavour.¹⁰⁷ Seven eatables are mentioned in the stanza; the commentator says that 'ghee' is common to all and hence the remaining six indicate the six sentiments (out of the well-known nine ones), barring bhayānaka, raudra and bībhatsa, which are not accessaries to S'ṛīgāra.¹⁰⁸ At the end of the com on St. 1, GO points out that the Gopīs desire to witness the sports of the Lord and participate in them, for the attainment of 'nirodha.'

The com on St.2 and 3 states the Puṣṭimārgīya doctrine, that everything, apparently belonging to the embodied soul, belongs really to the Lord, ~~that-He,-who-is-the-very-~~ and therefore, it is appealed to the Lord, that He, who is the very life of the Gopīs, should accept them as His own

107. Cf. किमपि बालशिक्षारूपं प्रियोऽधुना मुग्ध इति रसानुभवशिक्षारूपम्
भवोचत् प्रियतमा भगवत इति शेषः। -Nadiad MS, P.1.

(I have quoted from the MS after correcting the mistakes therein.)

108. Cf.... निरूपणेन स्वनिष्ठशृंगारादिशान्त्यन्ताः षड्रसाः सूचिताः।
यद्यपि तेषु भयवीभत्सरौद्रा रसा उक्ता तथापि न तेषां मुख्ये रसे
तथोपयोग - इति मुख्यरससहिता वीरादय षडेव भवन्ति। -
- Ibid, P.1.

and remove the agony of their mundane existence. They do not mind the abuse at the hands of the people and invite the Lord to do all those child-sports and mischiefs, so that they can experience various moods^{of} love and enjoy His company.

GO, then, says that the work (St. 6 to 15) mentioned different types of nāyikās: मुग्धा , मध्या and प्रगल्भा . Each of them has three sub-types : अज्ञातयीवना , ज्ञाताज्ञातयीवना and ज्ञातयीवना .¹⁰⁹ All these Gopīs have completely surrendered to the Lord and hence appeal to the Lord to consider them and their belongings as His own and not to entertain any doubt about it. The commentator, at the end of the com says that he has pointed out what the secret sentiment, is and it is through VT's grace, that the devotee, howsoever simple and devoid of knowledge, can experience it.

As stated above, the work is symbolic in nature. GO, while commenting, points out what

109. Cf. रसशास्त्रे त्रयो नायिकाभेदा निरूपिताः। मुग्धा, मध्या प्रगल्भा चेति तत्राप्यज्ञातयीवना ज्ञाताज्ञातयीवना ज्ञातयीवना चेति। तत्रानयोक्त्या ज्ञाताज्ञातयीवना मध्या निरूपिता सापि सात्त्विकी सा हि रजतस्वभावा चातुर्यानिभिज्ञा मध्यात्वात् । - MS - B.8.

is symbolic in each of the stanzas. For example, in St. No.10 - there is a mention of the clay-utensils. The commentator says that they indicate rustic flavour (ग्राम्य रस) and the lids, mentioned therein, indicate that the flavour is pure and untouched. In the case of the word दुग्धमोदकानि , it is said that they indicate breasts. The word मोदक and not लड्डुक , is used because मोदक etymologically means 'causing delight'. In the production of sentiment (रस) (rasa), the changing moods or feelings (vyabhicāri - bhāvas) are necessary. Here too, the commentator says, they that the preparations of the mangoes, ginger, lemons, etc. which add to the taste of the sweets, are mentioned to indicate the vyabhicāri-bhāvas, like māna, kalaha, etc. Similarly, the stools, utensils, pounding clubs, which are used for reaching the eatables which are kept high in the slings, are said to symbolize love-messengers and the sling is a symbol of heart.¹¹⁰

This may appear to some people as describing only physical passion and some would

110. Cf. तस्य शिष्यस्य प्रतिनिधित्वरूपेणोरसि...।-Badī-tika (P) P.271. Go refers to the Guptarasa in his long com on the SS and explains in it some stanzas also. Vide the MS(F), P.268 to P.271.

look upon the interpretations as rustic and ob~~sc~~cene. Perhaps anticipating such criticism, GO, while commenting on the word भावसुंदर (St.20), says that there is no tinge of physical passion in the case of the Gopīs.¹¹¹

The com, thus, shows how GO knows the true spirit of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga and how he is conversant with the ~~Rasas~~ Rasas'āstra. He has shown the importance of different words, ^{has} given etymological and alternative explanations and has divulged the hidden meaning of the work. I, think, but for his com, the Guptarasa cannot be properly understood.

Ghanas'yāmajī's¹¹² com on the Guptarasa is also available. It is not as elaborate as that

111. In this connection, the complete com on St.20 is worth reading. A few words are quoted here:

"अतएव तथा सम्बोधनं भावसुन्दरेति। शुद्धमुष्टिमार्गीया भावा एव सुंदराः प्रीतिजनका यस्य हि तादृशा अतः कामादिदोषरहितशुद्धभावसंपादितपदार्थानां भोग एवोचितो योग्यत्वादिति विज्ञापितम्। - -

- Nadiad MS, P.15.

112. I saw a MS (No.85 in the bundle No.10/1) of this com, which is in Vrajabhāsā, in the Dayarāma Library of Dabhoi. One MS of Ghanas'yāmajī's com is available in Kāṅkarolī also. It gives only the ~~pre~~ paraphrase of the ~~verses~~ verses.

of GO and does not add anything more than what GO says.

(iii) Comm on some of the works of VL

VL wrote sixteen (small) Prakaraṇa Granthas, popularly known as the 'Ṣoḍaś' a Granthāḥ' (Sixteen Treatises). The total number of the stanzas in all of them is only 221½, but they are very important, for they represent important teachings of VL. It is no exaggeration to say that they constitute the guiding principles for the Puṣṭimārgīya Vaiṣṇavas and that they represent the theology and ethics of VL's sect.

VL's language is enigmatic at some places. It is difficult to follow his works at those places, and hence comm are necessary to understand fully what VL intends to say. GO, therefore, wrote comm on most of the Sixteen Treatises. It is difficult to say to-day whether he wrote on all the Sixteen Treatises. I have tried to collect all available comm written by him from various sources, but I have not come across his comm on the Bālabhōḍha, the Vivekadhairyaś'raya, the Pañcapadyāni and the Sevāphala. Unless all the MSS in the different MS collections in all the Puṣṭimārgīya temples and

with some Vaiṣṇavas, are catalogued, it would be premature to say that the comm, mentioned hereafter are the only comm of GO on the Sixteen Treatises.

As regards the authorship, of one com or the other, I have followed the conclusions of the editors of the Sixteen Treatises.

I have also read comm of these Treatises written by other commentators and referred, in short, to their importance. It is possible that GO might be the first commentator of these Treatises, but in the absence of any dates of composition mentioned in the comm, we are not in a position to say a final word about it. GO's comm on the Sixteen Treatises, not only explain them, but also discuss various issues of the S'uddhādvaita doctrine.

Following is the study of GO's comm on the 'Sixteen Treatises' and other works of VL.

1. Com on the Yamunāṣṭaka

Yamunāṣṭaka is an eulogy, of the deity Yamunājī, written by VL. It is the first in the Sixteen Treatises and contains nine verses.

VT has written a vivṛti on it and Harirāyaji, Puruṣottamaji and Dvārakes'aji have written sub-commentaries on VT's com.¹¹³ Puruṣottamaji and Dvārakes'aji state that VT wrote the com upto the sixth stanza of the Yamunāṣṭaka and the remaining part of the com was written by GO.¹¹⁴ Harirāyaji does not state anything about it in his sub-commentary, but in his श्रीगोकुलनाथवलिः, he also says the same thing.¹¹⁵ These authorities prove that GO has written a com on the last three stanzas of the Yamunāṣṭaka, at the behest of his father. The com of VT as well as GO is very simple. It paraphrases the stanzas in simple language. The com on the last stanza, which is a phala-s'ruti, very well explains

113. The work is edited by S'ri C.H. S'astri and is published in 1985 V.S. with the com of VT, and the above-mentioned sub-commentaries.

114. Cf. एतावदन्तं व्याख्यानं प्रभूणाम्। अग्रे तदाप्त-श्रीगोकुलनाथानाम्। -P.26, ibid, and अतः परं प्रभुचरणाज्ञप्तानां श्रीगोकुलनाथानां लेखः । - Ibid, P.50.

115. Cf. पित्राज्ञया यमुनाष्टकस्य शेषाव्याख्यानकर्त्तृनमः। - S'ri Gokules'a-dholapadamādhurī (ed. by S'ri C.M. Vaidya), p.18.

how this eulogy of S'rī Yamunājī leads to the fruit, mentioned in it. It is said that we have to believe in what VL, the true devotee of Hari, says.¹¹⁶

There are three sub-commentaries, mentioned above, explain elaborately what is said by VT and GO.

Apart from the com on the last three stanzas, GO seems to have written another com also. It is difficult to say whether he commented on all the nine stanzas or on only the first and/or second stanzas.

I I have seen a MS¹¹⁷ of GO's com on

116. Cf. तेनाप्तवाक्यत्वेन प्रामाण्यमुक्तम्। नन्वितः पूर्वं
केनाप्युक्तत्वाद् भवदुक्तिमात्रेण कथं प्रामाण्यमिति चेत्त्राहुः श्रीहरेरिति।-
- Yamunāṣṭaka - P.35.

117. The MS is available in S'rī Gaṭṭulālaṅkāra
Institution of Bombay. It is copied in 1948 V.S.,
by the scribe Rāmalāla S'armā. The source, from
which it is copied, is not stated. It is also available
in Kāṅkarolī Vidyāvibhāga (MS No.54/25 and in
Nāthadvārā MS No.117/15) also.

S'rī N.N.Gandhi states in his Gujarati
Preface to Vidvanmandanath that VT asked GO to comment
on 'Mukunda-rati-varḍhini'; GO did so, and he (VT)
was pleased to listen to it. I have not seen any such
com of GO.

the first stanza of Yamunāṣṭaka. The first sentence, श्रीमत्प्रभुचरणोभ्यो नमः, , shows that it is not written by VT and it is different from VT's com on the Yamunāṣṭaka. The colophon "इति श्रीयमुनाष्टक प्रथमश्लोकव्याख्यानं श्रीगोकुलनाथजी कृतं" - indicates the same thing.

GO explains why VL first of all pays obeisance to S'rī Yamunājī. It is only VL who knows her real nature and form (svarūpa) and he desires to reveal it to his followers. While commenting on the word सकलसिद्धि, he says that it does not mean the eight superhuman powers (aṣṭa-siddhis), which can be attained by Yoga; according to him, the word means attainment of divine physique useful for the Lord's worship, witnessing the divine sport, experiencing divine 'rasa' and attainment of 'Sarvātma-bhāva',¹¹⁸ A second interpretation is also given by breaking the word, 'sakala' as 'sa' and 'kala'. Accordingly, 'sakala' is taken to mean the Kumārikās. It is, then said that all the hindrances

118. Cf. साक्षाद्भगवत्सेवोपयोगिदेहाप्तितल्लीलावलोकनतद्रसानु-
भवसर्वात्मभावजनितमनोरथपूरणाय सकलसिद्धयो ज्ञेयाः।

in the way of realization of God are removed by S'rī Yamunājī and one is able, by Her grace, to obtain the divine form useful for the Lord's service.

As regards the date of composition of the com, it can be said that the com on the last three stanzas was written before 1642 V.S., when VT passed away and because GO completed the com at his behest. In the com on the first stanza, we find him a better and ingenious commentator. It is difficult to say in what year he wrote it.

2. Com on the Siddhānta-muktāvalī(SM)

The SM¹¹⁹ is the third among the Sixteen Treatises. In the 21 verses of this work, VL explains in brief the nature of Brahman, Aksara and the world (with a fitting illustration of the Ganges), preaches the Path of Bhakti as a means

119. It is edited by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia with the available 8 comm, in 1979 V.S.

of realization and shows its different forms.

Popularly the work is titled as SM, but VT in his Vivṛti on it, calls it Siddhānta-Vāṇīśa.¹²⁰

Perhaps SM might have derived its title from the wording, of the benedictory verse in VT's com, viz
तद्वाङ्मुक्ताफलवलीम् and GO's working
सिद्धांतविवृतेविवृतिः, at the end of his com.

VT is the first to comment on the SM.

On his com, there are eight sub-commentaries. They are by GO, Kalyāṇarāyaṇī, Puruṣottamajī, Vallabhajī, Vrajanāthajī, Lalūbhāṭṭa, Dvārakes'ajī, and Harirāyaṇī. Dvārakes'ajī's com is called parīśiṣṭa by the editors and is incomplete. He states that GO might have written his sub-com on the com of VT, after the latter passed away.¹²¹ Harirāyaṇī has written only a few lines on St.16 of SM. VT's com is only explanatory and very short, and all the commentators have, more or less, explained some of the lines and words of the com of VT. Of these comm the sub-com (Prakāśa) of Puruṣottamajī is elaborate and is very clear. It very well brings out the meaning of the work and can be called the best of

120. Vide P.8, ibid.

121. Cf. स इति पितृपद्रेणोः परौषात्त्वकथनेन श्रीमद्गोस्वामिनां
कन्दरामवेशानन्तरं टिप्पणी कृतेति । -Ibid, P.77.

all. GO's sub-com is very small and explains only certain words of his father's com. There is nothing noteworthy about it. It may be the work of his early years. It appears that he has not done justice to this work, which propounds some important doctrines of VL's philosophy and which, therefore, deserves explanation at length.

3. Com on the Pustipravāhamaryādā (PPM)

PPM (also called PPM-bheda)¹²² is one of the Sixteen Treatises of VL, 4th in the numerical order. It is written in 25½ stanzas and describes the nature of the three types of soul, viz. Puṣṭī, Pravāha and Maryādā. It is, in a way, the cosmogony of the world of human beings. It is incomplete, as the commentators except Kalyāṇarāyajī, state at the end of their comm.

The language of the PPM is difficult to follow and hence the importance of the comm. For comm are available on this treatise. They are by GO, Raghunāthajī,

122. The work is edited with the available four comm by Messrs M.T.Telivala and D.V. Sankalia and is published in 1981 V.S.

Kalyāṇarāyaṇajī and Pitāmbarajī. The editors have opined that the last com must be from the pen of Puruṣoṭṭamajī, who might have ascribed the authorship of the com to his father.¹²³

Of these comm, Pitāmbarajī's com is the longest and scholarly too. More than half of it comprises quotations from various scriptural authorities! He raises *prima facie* views and refutes them by quoting various scriptures.

The comm by Raghunāthajī and Kalyāṇarāyaṇajī are the shortest and explain the treatise clearly. The latter appears to be influenced by the com of GO.

GO's com on the PPM is very clear.

Unlike the com of Pitāmbarajī, it avoids elaborateness and some unnecessary quotations, but it explains the stanzas with necessary quotations. For example, St.12 and st.13 state that the Puṣṭimārgīya soul is not different from the Lord, in points of svarupa, avatāra, līṅga, guṇa, kriyā, etc., and the statement is clearly illustrated by examples from the Phala-prakarana of the BG.¹²⁴ Similarly, he clearly differentiates the Path of Bhakti, described by Kapila, from the Puṣṭimārga, where love rules

123. Vide title page No.3, ibid.

124. Vide P.11 & P.12, ibid.

supreme.¹²⁵ Therefore, he says that VL describes in the treatise PFM, the three Paths, which no one has so far done.¹²⁶ While commenting on st.2, he discusses the question whether माहात्म्यज्ञान (knowledge of the greatness of the Lord) is necessary for a devotee. After quoting the well known definition¹²⁷ of Bhakti from the Nārada-pañcarātra, he says that, though profound love for the Lord is absolutely necessary in the Puṣṭimārga, knowledge of the greatness of the Lord is also necessary for the development of Puṣṭibhakti, but it would not be required when deep unshaken love for the Lord arises in the devotee's heart.¹²⁸ This he illustrates, by the examples of Yas'odā and the vrajavāsīs. While commenting on st.5 and showing the greatness

125. Cf. तत्र कपिलयोगेश्वराद्युक्तप्रकारेण शुद्धपुष्टि लक्षणाभावात् न शुद्धपुष्टिभक्तित्वम् । - - - Ibid, P.2.

126. Vide P.1, ibid.

127. माहात्म्यज्ञानपूर्वस्तु सुदुः सर्वतोऽधिकः। स्नेहो भक्तिरिति प्रोक्तस्तथा मुक्तिर्न ज्ञान्यया । Ibid, P.2.

128. Cf. प्रथमतः एवाच्चार्यप्रकटितभक्तिमार्गे प्रवृत्तस्य यावत्सुदुः सर्वतोऽधिकः स्नेहो भवति, तावत्सेवादिकरणे अपराधाभावार्थं माहात्म्यज्ञानस्योपयोगः। सुदुःस्नेहोत्थयन्तरे तस्य स्वत एव निवृत्तेः । - - - Ibid, P.2.

(utkarṣa) of Puṣṭi, he shows, giving quotations from the Gītā, the difference of the aims of the Path of Bhakti and the Path of Knowledge. He says that the direct sight of the Lord is the aim of the Path of Bhakti and mental realization is the aim of the Path of knowledge.¹²⁹ Thus, he clearly shows the true nature of ~~Puṣṭibhakti~~ Puṣṭibhakti and also shows how the Puṣṭimārgīya souls differ from the Pravāhamārgīya and Maryādāmārgīya souls.

At two places, GO gives farfetched meaning, e.g. in the com of St.1, he says that चकारात् साधनैरपि भेदः,¹³⁰ and in the com of St.18 he says that अतीवशब्दाद् भगवदनुग्रहकलभ्या इत्यर्थः ।¹³¹ Raghunāthajī and Pīṭāmbrajī explain सकलं (St.23) as partial, which eventhough etymologically true, is not proper.

There are some places, where the commentators give different explanations. The word

129. Cf. भक्तिमार्गस्य साक्षादर्शनहेतुत्वम्, न तु ज्ञानमार्गवत् मनस्येवेति नियमः।-Ibid P.5, Cf. also पुष्टिमार्गस्य साक्षात्स्वरूपसम्बन्धानुभवरूपफलप्राप्तावेव भगवदिच्छा। - -Ibid, P.9.

130. Ibid, P.1.

131. Ibid, P.13.

कापद्य in St. 20 is very important. Raghunāthajī explains it as भजानात्, which does not appear proper in the particular context. Kalyānarāyajī explains कापद्यं विधाय as स्वस्य बहिः कर्मसिद्धिं दर्शयित्वा,¹³² which is also not proper. GO says कापद्यं नाम लोकसंग्रहः¹³³ and Kalyānarāyajī has also accepted the meaning. This meaning may be true, if we look to the spirit of the stanza, but the meaning given to it is not correct. Pitāambarajī says that कापद्यमन्तर्बहिर्विसंवादः,¹³⁴ which is correct.

Similarly, in the interpretation of the stanzas 15 (cd) and 16(ab), there is a notable difference of opinion among the commentators. Raghunāthajī says that the divisions of soulā referred to in the said stanza belong to Puṣṭi, and Pitāambarajī also says the same thing.¹³⁵ Kalyānarāyajī gives a ninefold classification¹³⁶ of the souls in the following manner:

132. Ibid, P.31.

133. Ibid, P.15.

134. Ibid, P.55.

135. Vide Ibid, P.22 and P.52.

136. Vide ibid, P.30.

पुष्टिस्थाः पुष्ट्या विमिश्रा	प्रवाहस्था प्रवाहमिश्रिताः
" मर्यादामिश्रिता	मर्यादामार्गीयाः पुष्टिमिश्रिताः
" प्रवाहमिश्रिताः	" मर्यादा मिश्रिताः
प्रवाहस्थाः पुष्टिमिश्रिताः	" प्रवाहमिश्रिताः
" मर्यादामिश्रिताः	

This classification is no doubt, ingenious, but is not warranted by the wording of the stanza. GO interprets that the soul having the mixture of Puṣṭi in them have omniscience as their characteristic, the soul having the mixture of pravāha in them, have indulgence in action (क्रियारतत्त्व) as their characteristic and those having the mixture of maryaḍā in them, have knowledge of the qualities of the Lord (गुणज्ञत्व) as their characteristic. Although interpretations of Raghunāthajī and Pīṭāmbarajī are not bad, but GO's interpretation appears to be in accordance with the wording of the stanza.¹³⁷

137. It should be noted here that the ninefold classification given by Kalyāṇarāyajī ^{is generally accepted in the sampradāya. Puṇḍottamajī} also refers to मर्यादापुष्टि & पुष्टिमर्यादा as different categories in his com on

SR. Read: वस्तुस्तु राज्ञा मर्यादापुष्टावर्गीकृता, न केवलपुष्टी, नवा पुष्टिमर्यादायाम्.... । - SR(ed.by Telivala and Sankalia), P.38.

There is also a difference of opinion in the interpretation of the words इतरौ and मोक्षप्रवेशतः in §t.11. Raghunāthajī says that इतरौ means मर्यादाप्रवाही and takes प्रवेशः as प्राकृतः लयः . This is farfetched. GO, Kalyāṇarāyajī and Pitāmbarajī rightly take इतरौ as the मर्यादा and पुष्टि souls. Kalyāṇarāyajī explains प्रवेश as लीलाप्रवेश and मोक्ष as मर्यादामार्गीय मोक्ष . GO explains the word स्वस्वमार्गीयमोक्षप्रवेशतः and Pitāmbarajī explains it as अक्षरप्राप्ति and पुरुषोत्तमप्रवेश .

As regards the difference in the readings of the PPM, it is to be noted that Kalyāṇarāyajī and Pitāmbarajī read एकधा , while GO and Raghunāthajī read एकता in §t. 10, which is immaterial. It is curious that Pitāmbarajī reads §t.4(cd) as §t. 5(cd), §t. 5(ab) as st. 4 (cd) and §t. 5 (cd) as §t. 5 (ab).

4. Com on the Siddhānta-rahasya (SR)

SR is the fifth among the Sixteen Treatises of VL. It contains only 8½ stanzas, but is the most important of all the 'Sixteen Treatises', as it contains the cardinal principle of the sect, viz.

abandonment of unoffered things. In this treatise, VL informs ad verbum of what the Lord told him as regards the ceremony of Brahma-Sambandha and self-surrender by the souls.

SR¹³⁸ has eleven comm on it. They are by GO, Raghunāthajī, Kalyāṇarāyajī, Vrajotsavajī, Gokulotsavajī, Harirāyajī, Viṭṭhales'varajī, Puruṣottamajī, Gīrīdharaajī, Lālūbhāṭṭa and S'rīs'āmatānuvartī. Of these, the comm by GO, Puruṣottamajī and Lālūbhāṭṭa are important. All the other comm are simple and have nothing important to say. Vrajotsavajī's com is a bit longer than that of GO and treats at length the meanings of S'rāvaṇa (st.1), sarveṣam (St.2) etc. Gīrīdharaajī's style is scholarly and he deals with the five fold faults at length. Viṭṭhales'varajī raises a question why the Lord gave admonition to VL in the forbidden period of Dakṣiṇāyana and answers that for God's admonition, no time is unauspicious. He has written it in the style of question (by VL) and answer (by God).

138. It is edited and published with the available eleven comm, by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V.Sankalia, in 1980 V.S.

GO's com is most probably the first in chronological order, and brings out clearly, in graceful language, the meaning of the work. He shows the significance of the month, the fortnight, the day and the time, when the Lord spoke in person to VL. He says that VL tells us in verse what the Lord told him. The modes of worship of other sects are well settled but that of the Puṣṭimārga is not, and therefore, the Lord told VL to teach the divine souls to perform all actions after self-dedication and to surrender all things to Him (Kṛṣṇa) before using them. God is faultless (nirdoṣa) and things surrendered to Him become faultless, and hence, there would not be any sin in using the offered (samarpita) things. An example is given to make it clear. As servants, in the worldly communications act according to the consent of their masters, similarly the devotees should offer all things to their Divine Master and then use them. GO explains how one has to perform worldly and Vedic duties with the offered things and removes doubts, that are likely to arise in the minds of the devotee in this connection. He explains the difference between dāna and nivedana and shows with illustrations from the Gītā and the BG, that the Puṣṭimārga is different from other paths. At the

end of the SR, there are three words, *Ca*, *eva* and *hi* and he gives very ingenious explanations of all ~~the~~ of them. In the com of *St.3*, he has shown the difference of the *Pūjāmārga* and the *Bhaktimārga*, and says that the five fold faults do not operate in the latter and that by surrender to the Lord alone, everything becomes faultless.

An important problem is raised by GO's interpretation of the word *ब्रह्मसम्बन्धकरण*. He says that the word means surrender to the Lord through an *ācārya* of this sect.¹³⁹ He does not explain here the word *ācārya*. He uses the word *ācārya* for VL alone, not even for his father, at several places in the *Badī-tīkā*. But in this case it is felt that the word *ऐतन्मार्गीय आचार्य* is used for the descendants of VL. Otherwise he should have used the word *ācārya* alone. VL has not stated anywhere what the *Brahma-Sambandha* ceremony is to be performed by his descendants. But the tradition has established itself that it is performed (excepting in the case of the *Bharucī Vaisnavas*) by an agnate descendent of VL. But it is difficult to prove that GO was responsible for starting this tradition. Even in the days of VT,

139. Cf. *ब्रह्मसम्बन्धकरणं नाम ऐतन्मार्गीयाचार्यद्वारा*

the initiation ceremony was performed by him or his sons. Perhaps, Go might have been the first to voice that tradition through such an interpretation. It is on account of such an interpretation that GO is severely criticised by the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII.¹⁴⁰

140. Cf. But the sense in which this dedication was enjoined and accepted by the Vallabhacharyas is made clear in a commentary on Vallabha's Siddhanta Rahasya. The commentator who was no other than the celebrated Gokulnath, the grandson of Vallabh, the famous fourth son of the second guru, Vithalnath, thus expounds the formula:

"Therefore in the beginning even before ourselves enjoying wives, sons, etc. (putrādi includes daughters along with sons) ~~who~~ should be made over because of the expression serva vastu (all things) occurring in the text. After marriage, even before using her ourselves, the offering of her (the wife) should be made with a view to her becoming usable (by ourselves)' . - P.582.

One can easily see that the editor of the Encyclopaedia has not read GO's com of SR and has held him responsible for the degeneration of the sect.

It should, however be noted that according to a tradition, the Ācārya or Guru is VL alone and all others are only guru-dvāras.

This explanation leads to a fact that according to GO, the Brahmatsambandha Ceremony is to be performed by an agnate descendent of VL and that it goes against the practice of the Bharuṇī Vaiṣṇavas, who do not approach any Gosvāmī for such a ceremony.

In this connection it should also be noted here, that GO admits of different ways through which the Lord can teach or guide or accept a devotee. According to him, the Lord can teach or guide or accept a devotee through another devotee, in a dream, during the devotee's state of meditation or through some aerial speech.¹⁴¹

Puruṣottamajī's com is the longest and treats of the subject of dedication at length. It the beginning, he deals with the 'Gadyamantra', which according to him, is the exposition (vivaraṇa) of the five-syllabic mantra,¹⁴² and deals with a

141. Cf. क्वचिद् भगवान् स्वीकृतं सेवकद्वारा ज्ञापयति, क्वचित् स्वप्नद्वारा, क्वचिद् "गिरं समाधा" विति न्यायेनाकाश - वाणीद्वारापि ज्ञापयति। -SR (Telivala edition).P.2.

142. Cf. तद्धि पंचाक्षरमंत्रविवरकत्वादितिगोप्यम्। - -Ibid, P.36.

prima facie view as to why the word 'dārā' is used in the sacred mantra. He shows the importance of Brahma-sambandha, says why the subject ~~is~~ is repeated here, even though it is dealt with ~~repeatedly~~ in the BG (Chapter XI) and gives a scholarly discussion of the point of 'dattāpahārā', which GO has treated in short. He discusses the point whether women are eligible to do self-surrender.

One may ask why Puruṣottamajī dealt with such points at length, when VL's works were there, and in reply it may be said that his age perhaps demanded it.

Lālūbhāṭṭa's com is also important. He says that by Brahma-sambandha, a general surrender is made, while offering things to the Lord before using them is the special surrender.¹⁴³ In the com on St.8, he discusses a point whether a devotee should subsist on begging from another devotee. He opines that a householder's life would be useful in performing sevā, which a single man

143. Cf. तथा पंचाक्षरमंत्रग्रहणेन स्वकीयपदार्थानां ब्रह्मसम्बन्धः
स तु सामान्यतः समर्पणम्। पुनस्तदुपयोगिकरणं विशेषतः
समर्पणं ज्ञेयम् । - Ibid, P.59.

can do only with difficulties.¹⁴⁴ He also discusses the question why both a wife and a husband should be separately initiated. From this com it is known that even children were initiated by the 'Gadyamantra', which did not happen in the early history of the Puṣṭimārga. We get another information also. Nowadays, the Vaiṣṇavas generally observe the impurity (वृद्धिसूतक) caused on account of a child's birth in the family, for 16 days, whereas Lālūbhāṭṭa says that it is observed for 10 days.¹⁴⁵

Important words in the work are अक्षरस्यः

(§t.1) ब्रह्मसम्बन्धकरणात् (§t.2), निवेदिभिः (§t.5) ब्रह्मता (§t.8). As regards the word अक्षरस्यः, GO says that the sentence-sense is expressed in verse after looking to the sense of each letter,¹⁴⁶ and others have followed him. The word

144. Cf. तथा सति स्त्रीपुत्रादिभिः सह कृष्णसेवा सिध्यति। तद्भावे तु सेवायाः न निर्वाहः। - - Ibid, P.61.

145. Cf. दशदिवसानन्तरं यथापूर्वमाचरन्ति, तावता कालेन शुद्धः शास्त्रसिद्धत्वात् । - - Ibid, P.59.

146. Cf. वाक्यार्थे एव यथा यथा सम्यक् हृदयारूढो भवति, तथा पद्यबन्धेन कथनं प्रतिजानते तदक्षरस्यः उच्यते इति । तदेव पूर्वोक्त-मक्षरस्यः प्रत्यक्षरार्थविचारपूर्वकमुच्यते । निरूप्यत इत्यर्थः। - Ibid, P.2.

ब्रह्मसम्बन्ध करणात् is variously explained.
GO takes it, as shown before, as dedication to the Lord through some ācārya of the sect. Raghunāthajī says, it is the relation with God to whom dedication of body and soul is to be made.¹⁴⁷ Kalyāṇarājajī has followed GO in his explanation of this word. Vrajotsevājī says that it is the connection with the Highest Lord.¹⁴⁸ Gokulotsavājī and others have given the same sense. Harirājajī adds that it is in the manner of a marriage.¹⁴⁹ Puruṣottamajī says that it means establishing Lord's ownership on all things.¹⁵⁰

The word निवेदिभिः is taken by GO as a subject, meaning by those who have dedicated themselves to the Lord, and most of the commentators follow him. Raghunāthajī and Gokulotsavājī explain it as 'with those who have dedicated themselves to the Lord' and Viṭṭhales'varājī and Giridharājī too give the same meaning. Puruṣottamajī and Lālūbhāṭṭa say that the word means 'the things that are offered to the Lord'. S'rī S'amatānuvartī says that it means 'after dedicating things through the great

147. Cf. बृहत्वाद् ब्रह्म पुरुषोत्तमः तत्सम्बन्धस्तस्मिन् देहात्मनो-

निवेदनलक्षणः तात्करणात् -Ibid, P.8.

148. Cf. साक्षात्पुरुषोत्तमसम्बन्ध करणम् । - Ibid, P.15.

149. Cf. आदौ सम्बन्धकरणं कस्यैव स्वयंवरे । - Ibid, P.26.

150. Cf. ब्रह्मसम्बन्धी नाम सर्वस्मिन् भगवत्स्वामिकत्वरूपः सम्बन्धः।

- Ibid, P.39.

dedicated souls', which is far-fetched. The word **ब्रह्मता** is explained by GO as 'faultlessness and equality' and most of the commentators have more or less followed him. Vrajotsavaji explains it as **सच्चिदानंदता**, Giridharaji explains it as **भगवद्रूपता** and Lalūbhata includes both these explanations in his com. Looking to the context the first explanation is better than others.

As regards the difference in the readings of the work, it is to be said that GO and others read **स्मृताः** in St.2 and **कार्यम्** in St.4, while some of the commentators read **मताः** and **कुर्यात्** instead, but this does not make any noteworthy difference in the meaning of the stanza in question, although Raghunāthaji notes in his com that **कुर्याद्** is read through negligence.¹⁵¹

5. Com on the Navaratna

Navaratna is the sixth among the Sixteen Treatises. It is said that Govinda Dave was very much engrossed in worldly worries and hence VL ~~he~~ wrote it to teach him how life is to be lived.

151. Cf. **कुर्यादिति प्रमादपाठः**। - Ibid, P.9.

The title of the work means 'nine gems' for it contains nine stanzas, and it is truly so; because the teaching is very valuable. It teaches the devotee to live life in a spirit of complete surrender and disinterestedness and considering all worries as only the sports of the Lord.

Five com on the Navaratna¹⁵² are to-day available, but none of them is from the pen of GO. There is one com in it, by Vallabha, but he is different from GO. The editors have rightly said that the com ascribed to Vallabha is not from the pen of GO, but from the pen of some other Vallabha. VT has written Prakāś'a on the Navaratna and the other four comm are the sub-comm on it.

The question arises here is whether GO wrote a com on the Navaratna or not. It appears from the statements of Gopaldas and Mahāvādāsa that GO perhaps wrote a com on it,¹⁵³ but it is not accessible

152. The work is edited by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V.Sankalia and is published by the Puṣṭimārgīya of Nadiad.

153. Cf. नवरत्नविवरणंमाहि विशद कर्तुं.....! -Nivedanano Pāṭha: S'rī Gokules'a - dholapada-mādhurī, P.465. Vide also Rasasindhu (unpublished) P.15 (O.C.Modi's MS).

to-day. In the prakāś'a of VT, there are certain lines, given in the brackets.¹⁵⁴ The editors have noted that perhaps the lines, in question, might have been added by GO, but Puruṣottamajī and Vallabhajī (who flourished in the 18th century) do not take note of them. So, the question,^{of} their authorship remains a moot point.

Gopāldās notes in his Tattvārtha-dohana that GO explained the true meaning of St.6 of the Navaratna to his followers.¹⁵⁵ GO said that comfort or ease (स्वास्थ्य) is a hindrance to realization and the Lord does not give it to any true devotee.¹⁵⁶

In the Rasasindhu of Mahāvādāsa, there are two references¹⁵⁷ to the Navaratna. The work is a dialogue between Mahāvādāsa and Moṭājī, who

154. Vide P.4 and P.20, Nadiad Publication.

155. Vide Anugraha Vol. XIV, No.11-12, P.428.

156. Cf. "ते जेटलो स्वास्थ्य उपजे तेटलो स्वरूप साथे अंतराय थाय। स्वप्नमांए दर्शन आपीने स्वास्थ्य न करे । -

- Ibid, P.428.

157. Vide Rasasindhu (MS of O.C.Modi of Balasinor) P.15 and P.50.

was one of the close disciples of GO and who, it is said in the work, represented faithfully the views of GO. Nivedana is interpreted as marriage of the soul with God ~~is-in~~ and it is said that 'tulasī', which is used in the ceremony of initiation, indicates that the souls are expected to act like 'her' (tulasī), who is a mahāpativrata.¹⁵⁸ Then, the word 'nava' is variously interpreted, wherein it is said that it represents the nine types of devotion. These types are, ^{not} the popular types (શ્રવણ , કીર્તન etc.), but they are other types, such as રાજસી તામસી , રાજસ સાત્ત્વિકી , રાજસરાજસી , etc.¹⁵⁹

It is possible that both Gopāldās and Mahāvādāsa might have quoted from the com of

158. Cf. તુલસી તે વૃંદાનું સ્વરૂપ છે અને વૃંદા તે મહાપતિવ્રતા છે।
તે મનઠ માટે શ્રીજી કહે છે જે વૃંદા જેહવી પતિવ્રતા છે - કેહેવી
છે, જે પુરુષ નામેં જાઠ હોય તેહેનું મુલ જોય નહીં... એહેવા
રહે શો તો શ્રીપુરુષોત્તમ સંબંધી સકલ સુષા પામશો,
તુલસીદલનો એ ભાવ ।"

- Ibid, P.15

159. Ibid, P.50.

GO; it is equally possible that they might have written down what GO said during some discourse. Whatever it may be, both of them report the views of their master, viz. GO. We find from these references, that GO has quite clearly pointed out the true spirit of devotion according Puṣṭimārga.¹⁶⁰

6. Com on the Antahkaranaprabodha(AKP)

AKP is one of the Sixteen Treatises, seventh in number. It contains 10½ stanzas of Anuṣṭup metre. The work is an admonition and invocation to the mind. It mentions some incidents (Divine calls or Decrees) in the life of VL, and

160. There are two MSS of the com of the Navaratna (Gujarati section No.984 and Gujarati-Hindi Section No.1466) in Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā of Ahmedabad. They are written in Hindi and are undated and are incomplete. Their authors are not mentioned. They make a mention of the nine types of devotion, as stated above, but ~~therefore~~, they are incomplete and so, it is not possible to compare them with Rasasindhu and say anything about their authorship.

through the work, VL intends to admonish his followers.

Five comm of the AKP¹⁶¹ available.

They are by Gokulanāthajī, Raghunāthajī, Harirāyajī, Vrajarāyajī and Purusottamajī. All of them point out the aim of the work, in the beginning of their comm. Raghunāthajī's com is, as usual, simple. According to him, VL teaches the devotees, through the guise of an address to his mind. Harirāyajī's com is in verse, and generally follows GO's com. Vrajarāyajī says that the singular used in the word indicates oneness of all in the sect, which is farfetched. He says that VL wrote eleven stanzas (really there are 10½ stanzas) to indicate advice to the eleven senses. Purusottamajī connects this work with the SR and Navaratna and says that VL admonishes, not his mind, but the minds of all his followers.

In the introductory stanzas of his com, GO pays obeisance to his father and grandfather and then he refers to the purpose of the birth of VL.

161. It is edited and published by Shri C.H.Shastri in 1981 V.S., with the available five comm.

God sent him, GO says, to teach the divine souls the true meaning of the BG. VL began to write a com on the BG, viz. ^{he}Sub; but before he could finish it, the Lord gave him a call to write on the tenth book of the BG and then return to him. VL had written ^{he}Sub upto the third book, so he passed over the remaining books and started writing on the tenth book. When the com on the tenth book was finished, the Lord gave him ^{another} ~~another~~ call to return to Him. VL thought that the purpose of his birth was not served well and hence did not obey the second call of the Lord, who, therefore, gave a third call out of anger and also grace.¹⁶² At that time, GO says, VL wrote the AKP as an invocation to his mind and followed the order of the Lord. Gharuvārtā also says that the AKP was written by VL after taking to renunciation.¹⁶³

The reference to the Divine Calls or Degrees in the work may appear to some as nonsense and contrary to reason. But we should remember

162. Cf. दत्तामाज्ञामपि मन्यथा कृत्वा अतिकृपारोजर्षिकं पूर्वकं पुनः स्वनिष्ठागमनार्थं तृतीयाज्ञां दत्तवान्+ Ibid, P.2.

163. Vide Vārtā No.11, P. 125 (Nijavārtā, Gharuvārtā etc., ed. by Lallubhai C. Desai).

that in the realm of Religion and Philosophy, reason is subservient to mystic experiences. In modern terminology, it may be said that Divine Call is equivalent to the inexplicable Inner Voice.

GO explains the importance of the ~~id~~ different words, including particles like 'tu' in their proper context. He has rightly explained the word 'daivam' etymologically in all its ten senses. He answers that God accepts the soul as His own, at the time of the latter's (soul's) dedication and, therefore, the soul has not to worry about anything, including, even, the ultimate fruit.

GO discusses the question of suicide. Suicide is considered to be a sin, but he says that it would not be a sin, if one has to do so in respect of a Divine Call.¹⁶⁴ As ~~has-to-do-so-in~~ regards, the disobedience in respect of the first two calls, he explains that there is no cause of worry or repentance, for punishment is already meted out in the form of anguish due to the postponement of the

164. ~~Wide~~ Cf. देहत्यागविषये सदात्मना प्रसूतोपाभाद् विलम्बेन न कार्यः । - -AKP - P.7 (ed. by C.H. Shastri).

fruit (फलविलंब). GO, here, gives his view-point as regards the ultimate fruit. He says that if VL had accomplished the work of commenting on the BG, it would have been a great worldly achievement, but that would not have been instant realization of the ultimate fruit. He says that salvation is no fruit according to the S'uddhādvaita doctrine. According to him, every devotee should think, while doing anything, that there comes no ~~any~~ impediment to the ultimate fruit.

In the com on the last two lines, he explains that the word S'rī Kṛṣṇa is used to indicate the लीलारस and the word दास is used to show that दास्य is the fruit of the pure Puṣṭimārga.¹⁶⁵ He explains the word Vallabha in two senses, (as the proper noun and as dear to God) and takes the word वचस् to mean आप्तवाक्य .

Purusottamajī has criticised GO for his words, दर्शयन् स्वस्य सौभाग्यं स्वीयानां भक्तिवर्त्म च ,¹⁶⁶ for

165. Cf. श्रीकृष्णदासस्य श्रीकृष्णपदेन भक्तसहितलीलारसाविष्टत्वं ज्ञापितं, तदासत्त्वेन शुद्धपुष्टिमार्गीयस्त फलरूपदास्यं प्राप्तस्य etc. I- Ibid, P.7.

166. Ibid, P.1.

VL has shown स्वसौभाग्य in the Sub.¹⁶⁷ But his argument is not weighty. Purusottamajī adds an additional independent note on St.5 to 7. Therein he says that God's first call to VL was to take birth on the earth and give an exposition of the BG. The second and the third calls were at the गंगासागरसंगम and मधुवन respectively. The latter two calls were to test his mercifulness to the devotees. Purusottamajī says that it is on this account that VL did not obey the latter two calls. This interpretation is not warranted by the wording of the work. It appears that GO has more faithfully interpreted this work and because GO was nearer to VL in point of time, he might have heard about the real meaning of the work, either from his father or VL's disciples. GO's comment is helpful in understanding the work which is to a certain extent enigmatic.

7. Com on the Kṛṣṇās'raya

Kṛṣṇās'raya is ninth among the Sixteen Treatises of VL. It contains 11 stanzas and teaches

167. Cf. सौभाग्यप्रदर्शनस्य सुबोधित्यारम्भ.....श्लोकेनैव कृतत्वात्
...प्रकृतानुपयोगत्वात् । - Ibid, P.27.

that Kṛṣṇa is the only refuge of the souls. Six comm in Saṁskṛta on the work¹⁶⁸ are available, but none of them is ascribed to GO. Of these comm, that of Kalyāṇarāyaṇī, and the anonymous one are important.

There are two MSS in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī, in which we find a com of Kṛṣṇās'raya in Vrajabhāṣā. In the MSS it is not stated whether the com is a translation of the Saṁskṛta com. In the MSS MS No.89/16 (Hindi Section), the colophon reads as follows:

इति श्री बल्लभाचार्य विरचितं कृष्णाश्रयग्रंथ ताकी
टीका श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत भाषायां संपूर्ण।¹⁶⁹

In the other MS (Hindi Section No.90/2) there is no mention of the author. I have seen a third MS¹⁷⁰ of this com in Kapadvanj (Dist.Kaira). It is similar to the above MSS, excepting some differences here and there. In this MS also, the name of the author is not given. None of them gives the date of the MS ~~and here~~ and none of them contains an obeisance either to VL or VT. The com begins

¹⁶⁸. It is edited and published with the six comm by Shastri Harishankar Sharma in 1983 A.D.

¹⁶⁹. P.167. The com runs from P.150 to 167 of the MS, whose size is 14½" x 8".

¹⁷⁰. The MS is in possession of Shri C.M. Vaidya and the com runs from P.353 to 365.

straightway with the purpose of the work. On the strength mentioned of the colophon of the first of the above-mentioned MSS, and on the strength of the author's manner of giving examples (which we find in the Vacanāmṛtas), I have taken for granted that the com is by GO.

The com first says that the different ways of salvation, viz., karma, jñāna and upāsana have become of no avail in the Kaliyuga as time and place have become polluted and therefore, salvation has become impossible for the human beings. So, Govardhananāthajī showed VL, the way of surrender (samarpana). Quoting the BG, the comentation says that in the Kaliyuga the means of salvation are beset with difficulties, but the Kaliyuga has one good point in it, viz. with a fewer means, greater fruit is achieved in the Kaliyuga.¹⁷¹ It is emphasized that a man who surrenders himself completely to the Lord, does not see the messengers of Yama even in sleep.

In the com on St.6, it is said that the Ekādaśī, with the tinge of the tenth day, should

171. Cf. तार्ति कलियुगमें बड़ो गुण है जो थोड़े साधन तें बहुत फल होत है । - Ibid, P.354.

not be observed, and if it is observed the devotee commits a sin.¹⁷² (The same thing is stated in the Ekādasī - nirṇaya¹⁷³) And the authority of ^{the} भविष्योत्तर पुराण and ^{the} पद्मपुराण is quoted.

Some points, emphasized by the author are worth noting. Firstly, on account of the pollution of the tīrthas (sacred places), the deities presiding over them have disappeared and hence they do not give any fruit. In the Kaliyuga the bhagavadīya sanctifies the sacred places and not vice versa. Thus the devotees of the Lord are held supreme and above all. Secondly, it is said that Lord Kṛṣṇa does not give a wordly fruit; whenever he is pleased, He gives a divine fruit. The example of Dhṛuva is quoted. Thirdly, it is stated all the other gods lead to disaster if any mistake is committed by the devotees, while worshipping them. Kṛṣṇa never takes into account the faults of His devotees and also the faults in their worship^{173(a)}. Fourthly, it states that ^{the} Vedas and ^{the}

172. Cf. वह दशमीवेध एकादशी महापापरूप है। - Ibid, P.359.

173(a) Vide Chapter - III(e).

173(b) Cf. और देवतानके भजन करत में जो या जीवको चूकि यहि परति है तब वाकी भजन कीयो सब बूथा ही होई जात हैं और उलटी भजन करिवेवारे को वह देवता बुरीई करत हैं। और श्री कृष्णके भजन करत में जो जीव को चूकि परति हैं सो श्री कृष्णजी सोवाके सब दोषान को निवारन करते हैं। - - - - -
- Kāṅkarolī

Puranas speak of salvation of the human beings only, while worship of Kṛṣṇa, the Highest Lord, brings salvation to even birds and animals. Gajendra-mokṣa and Jātāyu-mokṣa are instances in point. The com enjoins that a Vaiṣṇava should not pray to God either for worldly or other-worldly benefit^{174(a)}. The above-mentioned points lead us to believe that the com must be from the pen of GO, who held the same views. But we cannot accept them as the final proof to decide the issue.^{174(b)}

The com extensively quotes from the BG and the Gītā and refers to पद्म पुराण, भविष्योत्तर पुराण, याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, नारदपंचरात्र and गीतमी तंत्र.

The com is very simple. Relation (saṅgati) of one stanza with the other is well stated. The style is attractive and offers pleasant reading. It is competent enough to bring about firmness of mind (dṛḍhata) and attitude of refuge in Kṛṣṇa, which is the sole purpose of the work.

8. Com on the Catus'loki (CS')

CS' is the tenth of the Sixteen Treatises of VL. It is in only four stanzas and tells us about

174(a) Cf. जो वैष्णव भक्तिमार्गमें जाए कौं श्रीभगवान की भजन करे
परि लौकिक अलौकिक फल है तामें एककुं फलकौ श्री भगवान

सौ प्रार्थना करना नहने नहि। -Kapadvanj MS P.362.

174(b). That GO wrote a-com on the Kṛṣṇāśraya is proved by a statement in a Vacanāmṛta: Vide Shri M.V. Gandhi's notebook of the Vac (no.4,1) prasāngika no. 225: "त्यारे दात्री कल्याण भट्ट खंभोली ए करे कृष्णाश्रयनी लेकी करवायी..."

what should be the four objects of life (puruṣārthas) for the followers of the Pustimārga.¹⁷⁵ There are seven comm on this work.¹⁷⁶ Six of them are by Vrajarājajī, GO, Mathurānāthajī, Bhaṭṭa Kṛṣṇarāja, Mathes'a Nāthabhaṭṭa (who has written only on the first stanza of the CS') and Dvarakes'a, and one is anonymous, which is only explanatory and has nothing noteworthy about it.

Of these comm, those of Vrajarājajī and Mathurānāthajī are elaborate and treat the subject of the work very well. The latter seems to be influenced by GO and refers to his (GO's) com on Vallabhāṣṭaka at one place. His com on 8t.1

175. It is also expressed in a different but sure manner in the following verse, found in the com of Vratrāsura - CS' by VĪ and ascribed to VL:

पुष्टिमार्गे हरेर्दास्यं धर्मार्थो हरिरेव हि।

कामो हरेर्दिदुकीव मोक्षः कृष्णस्य चेद् ध्रुवम्॥

-Vratrāsura - CS' - vivṛti ed.by

Shri C.H. Shastri & H.V.Shastri in 1978 V.S., P.6.

176. The work is edited with the available seven comm by Messrs C.H.Shastri and H.V. Shastri in 1979 V.S.

begins with a sentence, which is found in the *Bādī-tīkā* of GO.¹⁷⁷ He explains each and every word and quotes authorities from VL and VT. He is the only author who accepts the reading अपर instead of अपरं in St.3. S'rinātha Bhaṭṭa says in his com that VL writes in this work (viz. CS') the conclusion of the discussions of all the scriptures. and¹⁷⁸ He also discusses the problem of साकार and निराकार .

GO's com is very short and simple. It has nothing noteworthy about it. As usual, he quotes various authorities and substantiates the view of the work. He explains सर्वभाव as सर्वात्मभाव।¹⁷⁹, which, as he later says, is to be cultivated by the divine souls (daivajīvaḥ). In his long com on the SS,¹⁸⁰ he also explains the first stanza of the CS'. The wording is different, but the meaning is the same.

177. The sentence " सावधानतया .. अन्वयः " (Ibid, P.14) is found verbatim in the *Bādī-tīkā* (P. MS. P. 191).

178. Cf. श्री बल्लभाचार्यचरणः... समासतः... सर्वशास्त्रार्थं निरूपयन्ति। - CS' P.33.

179. Vide - Ibid, P.10.

180. Vide P. MS P.191.

9. Com on the Bhaktivardhinī (BhV)

BhV is one of the Sixteen Treatises, eleventh in number. It contains eleven stanzas and is written to show how bhakti is to be nourished and strengthened.

Twelve comm are available on the work.¹⁸¹ They are by Balakṛṣṇajī, GO, Raghunāthajī, Kalyāṇarāyajī, Vallabhajī, Harirāyajī, Gopes'varajī, Purusottamajī, Jayagopāla Bhaṭṭa, Lālūbhaṭṭa and Balakṛṣṇajī; and one of the comm is anonymous.

GO first explains the purpose of the work, by raising a prima facie view. In the Purāṇas, it is already stated how bhakti is produced and increased; then why does VL repeat the subject, here? Go says that what the Purāṇas state is about Maryādā-bhakti and its means. VL has instituted a new path of bhakti viz. Puṣṭibhakti, and hence here he shows the way of nourishing and increasing it. He explains some important words like बीजभाव, त्याग, स्वधर्मतः, व्यावृत्ति, etc., which GO to determine the sense of the work.

181. It is edited with the 12 available comm by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia in 1977 V.S.

He explains बीजभाव as to be the acceptance by the Lord, after the soul has surrendered according to the tradition of ^{the} Pustimarga.¹⁸² He discusses this point also in his com on the Gadyamantra,¹⁸³ which is different from the above explanation. According to GO, the seed of bhakti is produced by the Brahma-Sambandha. He, then, says that VL shows here the means for its increase. The means are the attitude of renunciation, listening to the sports of the Lord and singing His praise; and then he defines what they (renunciation etc.) are.

Other commentators differ from GO in the interpretation of some of the words. GO explains the word स्वधर्मः (in St.2) as स्वमार्गीय भगवद्धर्मः and not the वर्णाश्रमधर्म.¹⁸⁴ He maintains that the

182. Cf. शुद्धपुष्टिमार्गीयाचार्यानुग्रहपूर्वकं स्वमार्गप्रकारकभगवन्निवेदनानन्तरं भगवदंगीकार एव बीजभावः। - -Ibid, P.7.

183. Cf. अतः पुष्टिमार्गीयानुग्रहेण समर्पणसंस्कारजनितबीजभूतसूक्ष्मफलरूप-भक्तिरेव बीजशब्दार्थ इति मन्तव्यम्। -GVS-P.109.

184. Cf. अत्र स्वधर्मपदेन वर्णाश्रमधर्मा न विवक्षिताः, किंतु स्वमार्गीय-भगवद्धर्मा विवक्षिताः, कुतः वर्णाश्रमधर्माणां स्वधर्मत्वाभावात्। -GVS - P.201.

वर्णाश्रमधर्म , has connection with the body and results in physical enjoyments, while स्वधर्म refers to the आत्मपर्यवसायीधर्म in the particular context. He critically explains the purpose of the suffix तस् in स्वधर्मतः. तस् is an adverbial suffix and does not change and therefore it indicates that स्वधर्मतः means unchangeable permanent भगवद्धर्माः . Then, he emphasizes that according to the S'uddhādvaita doctrine, साधन and साध्य (फल) are one and the same and in the com on \$t.7, he says that a deeply attached devotee attains firm devotion, superior to even the four types of salvation.¹⁸⁵ The word पूजा (in \$t.2) is here taken to mean पुष्टिमार्गीय सेवा and an example from the Venugita is given. One statement, made in this connection by GO, does not appear convincing. He says that worship of the Lord may be done with or without love, but it is भक्तिमार्गीय , because the Highest Lord is worshipped in ^{the} Puṣṭimārga on account of the grace of the Ācārya.¹⁸⁶

185. Cf. सर्वतरचतुर्विधमुक्त्यपेक्षायापि अधिकाम् । - - - -GVS-P.211.

186. Cf. तदीयशास्त्रे तदंगीकृता एव अधिकारिणः न त्वन्ये।

तेषामाचार्यानुग्रहेण शुद्धपुष्टिमार्गीयत्वात् तत्प्रदर्शित सेवाकरणं सस्नेहं स्नेहरहितं वा भवतु, परंतु पुरुषोत्तमपर्यवसायित्वाद् भक्तिमार्गीयमेव भवति । - - - - - GVS, P.202.

While discussing the result of आसक्ति (P intense attachment to the Lord), he says that there are two causes by which the ~~attachmen~~ attached devotee gets dislike for his home. They are बाधकत्व and अनात्मत्व . Here he raises a prima facie view. The S'ruti says that न वा अरे पुत्राणां कामाय पुत्राः प्रिया भवन्ति, किन्त्वात्मनः कामाय पुत्राः प्रिया भवन्ति, then how do the different relatives appear to be non-self? GO answers that the ~~some~~ does not experience self-relation (आत्मसम्बन्धत्व) in ~~him~~ ^{because he is attached} to the Lord and finds आत्मत्व in Him alone, not even in himself.¹⁸⁷

He explains the word वा (in St.9) in two ways. It means 'and' and also 'or'. He emphasizes on both सेवा and कथा and does not approve of remaining in seclusion or leaving home. In the explanation of St.11, He we find him laying stress on proper thinking and its execution. He does not consider mechanical utterance as useful.¹⁸⁸

187. Cf. स्वस्य भगवदासक्त्या निरुपधिस्नेहास्पदत्वेन ब्रह्मवत्प्रेषा-
त्मत्वं स्फुरति, न तु स्वात्मनि। -GVS, P.208.

188. Cf. अध्ययने सम्यक्त्वोक्त्या न केवलं पाठमात्रकरणं किंतु
प्रतिपदमर्थाभिप्रायविचारपूर्वकमध्ययनमुक्ताम् । -

- GVS, P.219.

At the end of the com, GO, in all humility, asks forgiveness from the great Ācārya for his audacity to explain his work.

The com is written in simple and flowing prose. All the utthānikās are properly framed and the relation of one stanza with the other is well stated. It shows that GO considers the path shown by VL as quite different from that or those propounded in other books, and does not consider the वृणाश्रमधर्म as supreme.

There are different readings of some of the stanzas of the BhV. Bālakṛṣṇajī and Gopes'varajī read यसेत् instead of यतेत् in St.3, and Jayagopāla and Lālūbhadda and the anonymous com read न्यसेत्, which gives a good meaning, but there is no authority for it. The word अदूरदिप्रकर्षी in St.8 is read as अदूरे विप्रकर्षे सर्वतोऽप्यधिकं by some and सर्वतोऽप्यधिका in St.6 is read as सर्वतोऽप्यधिका. Vallabhajī reads विनाशकृत् instead of विनाशकं in St. 6. All these readings are not important, as they do not go to change the sense of the stanzas concerned.

Bālakṛṣṇajī explains बीजभाव as भविसत्कल्पतरु प्रवृद्धि कारण भावः अनुग्रहोत्तरकालीनभाव इति यावत्
 ----- and then, says that बीजपदं सत्पुरुषापदम् ।¹⁸⁹

189. Vide BhV (Telivala edition), P.1.

While explaining St.4 and St.5, he says that by love, there results ~~मुक्तस्त्व~~रागविनाश, by attachment there results गृहारुचि and by व्यसन there result बाधकत्व and अनात्मत्व . This appears logical. The word वत् in St.9, according to him, indicates दुर्लभत्व of सेवा , which is farfetched. Raghunāthajī interprets बीजभाव just like Bālakṛṣṇajī. He says ^{in the 3rd stanza the word बीजदाह्यप्रकार in st.2 refers} to the householders belonging to the way of convention, 190 which is not proper. Kalyāṇarāyajī says that the eleven stanzas indicate that devotion purifies eleven senses and first ten stanzas (eleven minus the phala-s'ruti) are written for implanting on the mind, the tenfold devotion. His com appears to have been influenced by that of Ragunāthajī, and there is nothing important in it. Harirāyajī's com is in verse and what is new in his com, is this: he says that VL shows in the BhV how devotion can increase by त्याग and अल्पमय अत्याग , which appears farfetched. Gopes'varajī's com has nothing new to say. It is full of many quotations and appears to have an impression of GO's com. Puruṣottamajī's com is full of many quotations and he has given sources of most of the

190. Cf. मयादिमार्गीयाणां गृहस्थानां बीजदाह्यप्रकारमाहुः

-Ibid, P.15.

quotations. He refers to GO as प्राज्ञः, but he has not refuted his views. According to him, St.1 refers to the way of increase in devotion of the मध्यम अधिकारी and st.2 has reference to the हीन अधिकारी. He explains the word bhakti etymologically and states that the bhakti defined in the नारद पंचरात्र is discussed in the Bhv. He explains व्यावृत्तः as वर्णाश्रमधर्मान्निवृत्तः, which does not appear proper. Vallabhajī's com has nothing new to say. Jayagopāla's com is the longest and also scholarly. He criticises GO's view by referring¹⁵ him by केचित्, as regards his (GO's) explanation of बीजभाव. He says that बीज is रति, while others (केचित्) understand बीजभाव as भगवद्भरण¹⁹¹. He explains the word धर्म in स्वधर्मतः (St.2) as वर्णाश्रमधर्म, लौकिकवैदिकधर्म and also दासधर्म. The anonymous com also explains धर्म as दासधर्म. Lālūbhattacha mostly follows Harirāyajī in his com. The comm of Bālakṛṣṇajī (son of Vallabhajī), Giridharajī and Dvārakes'ajī give some different

191. Cf. केचित् बीजं नाम.....पुष्टिमार्गीयं भगवद्भरणं, अन्यथा तत्र प्रवृत्तिरेव न स्यादित्यादिप्रकारेण व्याचक्षते। तच्चिन्त्यम्।
- Ibid, P.52.

explanations of some words, but there is nothing important about them. Of all these comm, those of GO, Puruṣottamajī and Jayagopāla appear to be important.

It should not be noted here that Jayagopāla mentions two of his works in his comm : प्रथमस्कंधसुबोधिनीटिप्पणी and शुद्धपुष्टिसेवासम्पत्तिः, - सरणि, ¹⁹², which are hardly known.

10. Com on the Jalabheda.

The Jalabheda is the 12th of the Sixteen Treatises. It has 21 stanzas and treats of the twenty types of the devotees who are compared to the twenty types of water mentioned in the seventh chapter of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

Four comm on the work ¹⁹³ are available. They are by Kalyāṇarājajī, Puruṣottamajī, GO and Balakṛṣṇajī. The editors of the work have stated that on the strength of the words जलं टी० गो० on a MS of Nāthadvārā and similarity of language of

192. Vide P.53, and P.54, ibid.

193. It is edited with the four comm by Messrs M.T.Telivala and D.V.Sankalia in 1975 V.S.

that MS with that of GO's other comm, they have ascribed the third com to GO. It can also be said, in addition, that we find, in the com (on st.14) the word ' मध्यपाति ' which is mostly used by GO in his works, and that the reference to the stanza अक्षयवती of the ~~venugita~~ Venugita is in the manner of GO. And, therefore, it is not wrong in ascribing the com in question to GO.

GO has shown that there are different types of attitudes (bhāvas) and consequently different types of the devotees. He has very well explained the 20 types of devotees with different authorities quoted from the Purāṇas and other works.

Puruṣottamajī's com quotes fully the mantra of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and gives many quotations from different scriptures. Kalyāṇarājī also illustrates the different types of the devotees with quotations and gives many etymological explanations. Bālakṛṣṇajī's com is simpler and smaller than all the other three.

An independent tract on the stanzas 13 and 14 of the work is written by Harirājī, and it is important. It correctly points out the Puṣṭimārgīya devotees and धर्मपराः (i.e. they worship the Lord) while the devotees, following the way of convention (maryādā) are धर्मपराः (i.e. they

worship the qualities of the Lord). Then, the tract gives the six types of those devotees. The tract says that S'esa and Agni are the Puṣṭimārgīya devotees and the others are mār्याdāmārgīya. GO includes all those in the second category. Commentators differ in their interpretation of the above stanzas, but it should be noted that GO and Kalyāṇarāyaji have stuck to the devotion^K of the words and have not resorted to indication or suggestion.

11. Com on the Savinyāsa-nirnaya(SN)

TL SN is the fourteenth among the Sixteen Treatises. It contains 22 stanzas and treats the question of renunciation, the fourth stage (ās'rāma) of life.

Eight comm on the work¹⁹⁴ are available. They are by GO, Raghunāthaji, Gokulotsavaji, Cācā Gopes'aji, Gopes'varaji, Puruṣottamaji, Vallabhaji and Cācā Gopes'aji

194. The work is edited with the 8 comm by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia and is published in 1974 V.S.

(as stated by the editors). Of these comm, those of GO, Cācā Gopes'aji (son of Ghans'yāmaji) and of Puruṣottamaji are important. Others are comparatively brief and bring out in short the meaning of the work. In the case of Vallabhaji's com, it is to be noted that he explains the word कौण्डिन्यः¹⁹⁵ (St.8) as 'the queens', whereas all the other commentators take it as the name of a sage referred to in the भविष्योत्तर पुराण .¹⁹⁶

Gopes'aji's com (i.e. no.4 in the printed edition of Messrs. Telivala and Sankalia) is very lucid and according to my opinion, the best of all. It is, as it were, a vivaraṇa on the com of GO. Puruṣottamaji's com is the longest of all and explains the various points with copious quotations from several authorities. He differs from others in one important point. He connects this work with AKP/and says that VL did not obey the two Divine Calls (ājñā) and when there was a third

195. Cf. कौण्डिने भवा कौण्डिनी आद्यमहिषी।.....सर्वा एव महिष्यः कौण्डिन्यः। - Ibid, P.75.

196. Vide P.17, Ibid.

Call, he thought of taking to renunciation and hence in the SN, he (VL) thinks over the path of renunciation. He explains the last stanza in the same context.¹⁹⁷

GO's com explains all points, referred to in the work. His style in this work is elaborate, compared to that of SR. He says that the purpose of the work is to show how the bhaktimārgīya renunciation differs from the mār्याdāmārgīya renunciation. He has explained well in his com their difference by quoting the authority of the BG. Kaundinya belongs to the path of convention. GO explains why he is mentioned as a guru. In the com on St.19, he explains very clearly why the word Hari is used in the particular context,¹⁹⁸ and in the com on St.20 he shows how the path of devotion is superior to the path of knowledge. He emphasizes that unless there is mental anguish (विकलत्व) and uneasiness (अस्वास्थ्य), a true devotee should not take to renunciation, otherwise it would lead to pretension and disaster,

197. Vide P,71, Ibid.

198. Cf.... स्वयमेव वैत्स्वास्थ्यं कुर्यात्तिदा स्वस्यैव फलप्रतिबन्धकत्वं भवेद् इत्येतदभिप्रायज्ञापनार्थमप्युक्तं हरिरत्र न शक्नोति कर्तुं बाधां कृतौ परे इति । - - -Ibid, P.11.

and that the renunciation does not lead to the highest fruit, but it breeds only repentance.¹⁹⁹

GO refers to this work in his long com on the SS²⁰⁰ and repeats his com on St.12 of the SN in it also.²⁰¹

There are some different readings in some of the stanzas. Ragunāthajī notes a reading प्रकृतेः in St.9, and accepts तन्म तादृशः (in St.11) instead of तादृशः .Puruṣottamajī reads प्रसिद्धयर्थम् (in St.3) instead of प्रवृत्त्यर्थम् and कालतः (in st.5) instead of कामतः . But all these readings are not important, as they do not go to change the meanings of the stanzas concerned.

12. Com on the Nirodha-lakṣaṇa (NL)

The NL is one of the Sixteen Treatises, 15th in number. It is written in 20 stanzas. In it,

199. Cf. अतः कलौ तावत्प्रयत्नसिद्धेरसम्भावितत्वात् तद् व्यतिरेकेण संन्यासस्य फलसाधकत्वापन्नवित्त्वान्त्तद-भावात् पश्चात्तप-हेतुत्वमेव.....! - Ibid, P.10.

200. Cf.इत्यादिभिः महाप्रभिरपि त्यागात्यागविचारपरामर्शानुमितः प्रदर्शितोऽस्ति । - - - -P.MS, P.222.

201. Vide P.217, Ibid.

VL shows the way of effecting nirodha, i.e., fixing one's mind firmly in God.

There are six comm available on the work.²⁰² They are by Cācā Gopes'ajī, Vallabhajī Harirāyajī, GO, Puruṣottamajī and Vrajarāyajī, Gopes'ajī's com is short and simple and paraphrases each stanza. His com on St.8 and St.10 is more extensive than those of others and interprets रोष. as स्वेकफलनिवृत्ति and निरोध as भगवत्परता.²⁰³

Vallabhajī's com has nothing noteworthy to say, excepting that it says in the beginning that the स्वरूपलक्षण of nirodha is shown in the 10th book of the BG and the कार्यलक्षण is shown in the NL.²⁰⁴ Harirāyajī's com is the longest and the best to my mind. It extensively quotes from the UP, the BG and the works of VL and discusses what nirodha is and what comprises its 'phala'. Puruṣottamajī

202. The work is edited with the six comm by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia and is published in 1973 V.S. The editors note in the preface that they are not sure whether there are any more comm hidden into the bulk of the MSS collected in different temples.

203. Vide P.4, Ibid.

204. Vide P.8, Ibid.

shows, in the beginning the logical connection of NL with SN, BhV and Sevaphala. In this respect, his com is very helpful in understanding the purpoat of the of the four works. According to Puruṣottamajī, the first three stanzas show the nirodha, of the three e types of the adhikāris, viz., the low, the middle and the highest. He explains सच्चिदानंदता (st.9) as अक्षरब्रह्मता , which does not appear proper.²⁰⁵ The com of Vrajarājajī explains the work in simple language. At places, he gives good interpretations of certain words, e.g. गोकुल in st.1 is interpreted as इन्द्रियकुल also.²⁰⁶

GO's com is one of the good comm on NL. In the com on the first stanza, he says that the unhappiness experienced by Yas'odā, Nanda and the Gopīs is beyond our reach. Therefore, only probability of its attainment is mentioned and VL has not prayed for it.²⁰⁷ He later explains that in experiencing such pain of separation, there is intense joy. While explaining st.4, he says that

205. Vide P.47, Ibid.

206. Vide P.52, Ibid.

207. Cf. एतद्दुःखस्य ब्रह्मानंदस्यापि तुच्छकर्तृत्वात् सर्वोत्कृष्टत्वेने -
नातिदुर्लभाधिकारज्ञापनाय सम्भावनेवोक्ता, नतु
प्रार्थनम् । - Ibid, P.30.

the word 'mahat' is used for the svāminīs alone,²⁰⁸ which is in accordance with the statement of VT viz., अस्मिन्मार्गे स्वाभिन्य एव गुरवः,²⁰⁹ but the sense is very restricted and excludes the disciples of VL and VT, mentioned in the 84 and 252 Vārtās, and such other spiritually highly qualified devotees. The commentator, then, shows the difference between the निरोध of ज्ञानमार्ग and that of भक्तिमार्ग, in which pain of separation rules supreme.²¹⁰ He interprets सच्चिदानन्दता in St.10 (or St.9 according to others) as ब्रह्मभावसंपत्तिः and also as भगवद्धर्मपरता, which is consistent with its etymological meaning.

VL, in St.16 of the treatise, says that a devotee has to be free from envy and greed and GO correctly emphasizes that man having these vices cannot cultivate devotional spirit at all,²¹¹ which is psychologically true. Puruṣottamajī says that St.17 and St.18 point to other means (साधनान्तरः), whereas GO explains them at length in continuity

208. Cf. तेन महच्छब्देन स्वाभिन्य एवोक्ता इत्यवगम्यते। Ibid, P.33.

209. Ibid, P.2.

210. Cf. यत्रात्मासुखरूपेणाया तददुःखस्यापि सर्वोत्कृष्टत्वम् ।
-Ibid, P.34.

211. Cf. भगवदीयेषु मात्सर्येण सौहादाभावे गुणवर्णनमशक्यं लोभे तु स्वार्थार्थमेवेति कुतस्तदावेशः । - - -Ibid, P.38.

with the previous stanzas.

The introductory lines (utthānikās), in each of the stanzas in GO's com, are really nice and go to show consistency of ~~the~~ one stanza with the other.

The order of the stanzas followed by GO, is not accepted by others. In GO's and Puruṣottamajī's comm, stanza 9 and 10 are interchanged. Vallabhajī follows still a different order. Puruṣottamajī refers to this state of affairs at the end of his com. It is strange to find such a thing. How this came to happen is inexplicable to-day. Another thing to be noted about the work is this. Different commentators accept different readings in some of the stanzas. GO reads ततः instead of स्वतः in St.10, तम् instead of ते in St.9. But what is noteworthy is the reading of the stanza No.12 d (St. 14 d or 16 d according to Puruṣottamajī and Vallabhajī respectively). GO reads it as भूमिं द्वादश योजयेत्, whereas others read it as भूमिं ईशस्य योजयेत् । → It appears very strange. Of the six commentators, GO is chronologically ^{the} first and no one refers to the reading of GO, in his com. GO explains the word द्वादश as the self with the eleven senses with all their objects and explains भूमिं as भूमी, which does not appear proper. Whether he read some another word instead of xxxxxxxxxxxx is a moot point. 212

word instead of भूमि , is a moot point.²¹²

In his long com on the SS also, GO explains the first three stanzas of the NL, but substantielly there is no difference between it and the com on the NL.²¹³

13. Com on the Madhurāṣṭaka

The Madhurāṣṭaka is a small eklogy of Kṛṣṇa, in 8 stanzas, composed by VL. It describes the charm and pleasantness of all things connected with Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of all charm and pleasantness (मधुराधिपतिः).

On this work,²¹⁴ there are six comm in Saṁskṛta and one in Vrajabhāṣa. They are by VT, Ghaṇṣ'yaṁajī, Bālakṛṣṇajī, GO, Raghunāthajī and Harirāyajī. The com in Vraja bhāṣa is ascribed

212. Cf. ...सर्ववस्तूनि प्रकरणादिकादशेन्द्रियाणि संपूर्णस्वरूपं च,
तानि प्रत्येकसमुदायाभ्यां तत्तन्मनोरथात्मकभावनाया भूमीः
समस्तस्वेन्द्रियविषयाधिष्ठानानि कृत्वा सूक्तीयान्यात्मसहितानि
द्वादश तत्र योजयेत् । - - - Ibid, P.36.

213. Vide P. MS P. 164, 165.

214. The work is edited by Shri M.T. Telivala and is published in 2018 V.S. by Puṣṭimārgīya Yuvaka Paris'ada of Bombay.

to VT, and is not the translation of his Saṁskṛta com.

Of these comm, that of Raghunāthajī is short and clearly explains all the stanzas. One thing is noteworthy about it. It notes a second reading of the last quarter of the stanzas, it is मयुराधिपतेः, which is not noted by any other commentator. Ghanas'yāmajī's is a sub-com on the com of VT. It is incomplete and there is nothing noteworthy in it. Harirāyajī has written a 'Tātparya' in ten stanzas only and has stated that the eulogy refers to two things: the attributes (dharmāḥ) and the form (svarūpa) and that the devotees describe to each other the 'rasātmaka svarūpa' of Hari.

The com of VT is a good piece. It states that everything pertaining to Kṛṣṇa and ^{His} sports in the 'nikuñja' are charming. The com is a good example of 'gaudī' style of prose.

The com of Bālakṛṣṇajī is also good. There are long compounds, but even then the language is lucid. It explains why the word 'adhara' (lower lip) is mentioned first and explains the charming nature and form of the Lord, by quoting the incidents from the Phala-prakarṇa of the BG. It also interprets

the first four stanzas with reference to the child-sports of Kṛṣṇa.

The com²¹⁵ of GO is the longest and one of the best ones. After obeisance to VL, the commentator says that VL could not bear separation from the Lord and he, therefore, passed his time in singing the enlōgy of the Lord. A question may be raised here as to how to connect this statement with the subject of the AKP. But there is no difficulty in reconciling these two statements.

The obeisance is unusually long (written in 9 stanzas) and the com of each of the next stanzas is preceded by two verses. The com gives various interpretations, sometimes three, sometimes four or five too, of each of the words of

215. The editor Shri Telivala says that the com in question is ascribed to Harirāyaji by some persons but according to his estimate it should be ascribed to GO. The language and the way of interpretation are in line with GO's com of the SS. (Vide P.67,ibid).

The argument of the editor is full of weight, but no any other cogent proof is available in this respect.

...268...

each of the stanzas, ~~first~~ the charm of the

the stotra. It rightly states that in/attributes
(~~dharmah~~) is ^{first} mentioned and then that of the Dharmī
is mentioned.²¹⁶ To show the charm of the
different limbs of and the things connected with the
Lord, the commentator copiously refers to the
incidents of Kṛṣṇa's life, as depicted in the tenth book
of the BG. It also makes references to the SS
and the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva.²¹⁷ It can be said
that GO's com is as charming as the stotra itself.
The style is pleasing and the diction is perspicuous
and hence the com offers a pleasant reading. It
shows that the author of the com is a devout bhakta
and well-read in the BG.

The Vrajabhāṣā com, ascribed to VT,
is faulty at many places. Like other comm, it also
describes the child-sports of Kṛṣṇa, to prove the
charming nature of everything connected with the Lord.

217. Vide P. 34 and P.45, *Ibid*.

216. Cf. एवं धर्मविशिष्टमाधुर्यं निरूप्य न धर्मिविशिष्टमाधुर्यं
निरूपयन्ति.....। यत्र धर्माणां माधुर्यमीदृग् भावपूर्वकं
निरूपितं, तत्र धर्मिमाधुर्यं किं वाच्यमिति कैमुतिकन्यायः
प्रदर्शित इत्यर्थः । - - -

- *Ibid*, P.48.

A strange thing needs to be noted as regards this com. It is in respect of different readings of the stanzas. It takes करणं , शमितं and तरुणं (st.5) as कर्ण , समितं , and तरुणं respectively, it reads शिष्टं (st.7) as सुष्टं and गावः (st. 8) as गान and explains the words as such. It interprets the word बलितं (st.2) as acceptance of the devotees in the Puṣṭimārgīya way and the word दलितं (st.8) as द्विदलात्मक स्वरूपः . This is farfetched.

I have seen one more Vrajabhāṣā com²¹⁸ in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkerolī. It runs upto the com of वचनं मधुरं in st.2 and is very fine. It is ascribed to GO. On comparing it with the Saṁskṛta com of GO, it is found that both are different from each other. It is

218. Vide Saṁskṛta MS No.85/1, A few lines of the com are quoted here: -

अब या ग्रंथमें श्रीठाकुरजीके सर्व अंग रसात्मक हैं ताको भावसहित वर्णन करत हैं.... जो या मू ग्रंथमें रसात्मक भावको वर्णन करनी हैं जा में अत्यंत अगाध रस हैं सो श्रीनाथजीको स्वरूप श्रुति को अगम्य हैं काहे तें श्रुति भाट आदि बंदीजन हैं श्रीठाकुरजीको बाहेर को माहात्म्य देखते हैं सो वर्णन करत हैं...।

possible that GO might have written two com on the Madhurāṣṭaka, one in Saṁskṛta and the other in Vrajabhāṣā. But no more evidence in this respect is available.

14. A tract on the Gāyatrī-bhāṣya(GB)²¹⁹

VL is said to have written a small gloss on the Vedic stanza (RV III - 62 - 10), known as the Gāyatrī. Although the gloss is known as ^{the}GB in the sampradāya, GO calls it vivṛti in the colophon of his tract on it.²²⁰

Hindu scriptures enjoin the muttering of the Gāyatrī always 67 by the twice-born. VL, VT, GO and others, therefore, wrote on it and gave interpretations which suited to the Suddhādvaita doctrine. Puruṣottamajī has written a sub-com on

219. It is edited by Prof. M.G. Shastri with the comm of VT, Puruṣottamajī etc. also. I have referred here to its third edition published in 1974 V.S.

220. Cf. इति श्रीमदाचार्यचरणकृतगायत्रीविवृत्यपरि स्वतंत्र-

लेखस्तदात्मजात्मजानामिति दिक् । - -Ibid, P.6.

the Vyākhyā of VT. Mathes'a Indires'a and Govardhana Bhaṭṭa have also written comm on the Gāyatrī.

As regards the authorship of the GB, there appears to be a difference of opinion. Shri L.P. Parekh says that

गायत्रीभाष्य श्रीमद्वल्लभाचार्यना नामनुं भाष्य छे, परंतु
ते श्रीमद्गोकुलनाथजीनुं बनावेलुं जणाय छे .²²¹

Shri C.H. Shastri has also discussed the question of the authorship of²²² GB. His arguments are as follows:

(1) The paragraph²²³ beginning with the word स्तुतिनु and ending with the words इति भावः is found verbatim in the AnBh on the ophorism No.3-3-37. Now, this part of the AnBh is written by VT. It cannot be said that VL quoted from that part of AnBh written by VT. It is GO who must have quoted from his father.

221. L.P.Parekh, Vallabācāryajī, P.388. The author does not state anything else in favour of his statement.

222. Vide Shri C.H.Shastri: नवी विचारणाऽगायत्री
भाष्यना कर्ता कोण? -VS, Vol.V, No.5-6,P.4.

223. Vide^{The} GB (ed. Prof. M.G. Shastri), P.4 and P.5.

(2) In the tract of GO, the whole passages of the GB are included verbatim. GO does not call his tract a *tīkā* but calls it 'an independent article'. So, it is possible that GO first wrote the GB and later he might have made additions in the form of 'the article'.

(3) Neither VT nor Purusottamajī makes a mention of the GB of VL.

(4) By the words दशमस्कंधविवृती प्रपञ्चितमस्माभिः, ²²⁴ it is said that, in the com on the tenth book of the BG, the writer of the GB has shown how the knowledge of pure Monism is acquired. Now, there is no reference to this, in the Sub on the tenth book of the BG. Hence the GB cannot be ascribed to VL.

(5) Consequently, the reading स्पष्टो नेति ²²⁵ must be स्पष्ट इति, because the meanings of प्रणव etc. are given by VT in his गायत्रीकारिका and the author of the GB has not explained them. If स्पष्टो नेति is taken as the correct reading, the author of the GB should have explained them. But he

224. Ibid, P.5.

225. Cf. यद्यपि प्रणवो, व्याहृतयश्च तथा भवन्ति तथैवितेष्टामर्थः स्पष्टो नेति गायत्र्यर्थो निरूप्यते...।- Ibid, P.1.

has not . So, it is right to say that the author of the GB is GO.

The above arguments, excepting argument No.3, are cogent enough to carry out the stand. The arguments can be substantiated: The GB is a gloss, and while the 'lekha' seems to be an addition and expansion. There is a brief com on the SS by GO and again he has written a longer com, and all the sentences, excepting a few words, here and there, of the brief com are found verbatim in the longer com. Similar is the case of the GB and the 'lekha'. GO has incorporated the whole GB in his 'lekha'. Secondly, the well known words रासलीलकतात्पर्य used in the GB²²⁶ are found in the SS. Did VT take them from the GB or the author of the GB copied from the SS? Thus, on account of all these arguments, it appears that VL is not the author of the GB, but possibly GO is the author of the GB as well as the 'lekha'.

If the GB is taken to be the work of GO, it is to be also accepted that he wrote दशमस्कंधविवृति, but such a work of his is not traced to-day.

But there is another possibility also. The passage in question (ननु.....इति भावः।) may not be originally the part of the GB. It might have been added later from the 'lekha' of GO, by some scribe. The continuity of the GB is not broken by removing the passage. Or it can be argued that VT took the passage ad verbum from the GB in the AnBh. Then, there is the question about colophon of the lekha, which mentions VL to be the author. In reply, one can say that the colophon may not be genuine, for GO does not generally mention himself तदात्मजात्मजानाम्. It might have been added later.

So it can be concluded that if the passage ' ननु....इति भावः' is taken to be a genuine part of the GB, then, we have to admit that the GB cannot be ascribed to VL. If the passage does not form the part of the GB, it can be ascribed to VL.

GO explains ^{the} Gayatrī to suit the S'uddhādvaita view. तत् is explained as Kṛṣṇa, the High^{est} Lord or the Truth, सवितृ is said to stand for the creator Kṛṣṇa; the word वरेण्य is taken to devote परस्परवरण (mutual acceptance) and भर्गः is interpreted as भजनीयगुणान् of Kṛṣṇa and it is stated that abolition of worldly existence (संसारनिवृत्ति)

is caused by the प्रियवल of Kṛṣṇa. Puṣṭimārga is a path of perfect love and dedication and so, the word धीमहि is taken to mean प्रीतिं कुर्मः . The word प्रचोदयात् is understood as 'lead us to the eternal dance रासलीला .' The whole Gāyatrī is taken to be ^{the} 'svarupa' of Svāminījī. 227

The salient points, of the tract are as follows:

- (1) The 'rasātmaka' (bliss) form of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (Svāminījī) is explained in the same way as found in the long com of the SS.
- (2) The way of devotion (bhaktimārga) is described as the way beyond the means of proof. 228
- (3) While interpreting the word वरेण्यं , GO discusses why in the eight-syllabic mantra, the word Kṛṣṇa is used with S'rī. It is explained that in the eight-syllabic mantra Kṛṣṇa is सच्चिदानन्दरूपः and in the Gādyamantra He is सदानन्दरूपः . In the teaching of the first mantra, both knowledge

227. Cf. गायत्रीशब्दवाच्यत्वेन..... भगवत आत्मन उत्तरार्धभागीतरदलाख्या श्री स्वामिन्येवोच्यते। - Ibid, P.1. Cf. also प्राकट्यदशायामपि गायत्रीरूपेण श्रीमद्गुणभानुषेव विज्ञेया । - - - - -

- Ibid. P.1.

228. Cf.....प्रमाणातिक्ते भक्तिमार्गे..... - Ibid, P.1.

...

...276...

and action are implied. (4) In the discussion of the word सवितुः, the theory of manifestation without a change (अविकृतपरिणामवाद) is emphasized, and ^{the} Gayatrī (i.e. Svāminī) is said to be the agent of the vast creation. (5) It is said that the Gayatrī is the seed, Veda is the tree and the BG is the fruit, the abode of rasa. Here, it is also said that according to the path of devotion, salvation is immaterial; it is insignificant in comparison to the rasa.²²⁹ According to GO, the central theme of the BG is ^{the} Phala-prakarana (X-26 to 32 or X - 29 to 35). Just as a tree is produced from its seed, here too the tree in the form of the Veda is produced from the seed in the form ^{of the} Gayatrī, which is also called वेदमाता. Then, it is said that the tree in the form of the Veda is कृष्णशृंगारकल्पवृक्षाः and that tree is produced by the deep esoteric attitude (निगूढभाव) of Svāminījī. In the end, their oneness is stated.²³⁰ (6) The महावाक्य तत्त्वमसि is

229. Cf.रसमालयं, आङ् ईषादर्थः, लयौ मोक्षः, यद्रसाग्रे मोक्षोऽपि ईषादतितुच्छ इत्यर्थः । - - Ibid, P.3.

230. Cf. अत एव प्राकट्यदशायामपि गायत्रीरूपेण श्रीमद्गुणभानुजैव विज्ञेया, तत्प्रसवनिगूढभावरूपेण कृष्णशृंगारकल्पद्रुमः फलबीजयोरभेददर्शनात् फल बीजं बीजे फलं द्वयोः फलबीजतारतम्येन द्वैतविशिष्टमद्वैतं..... ।
-Ibid, P.5.

interpreted as तस्य त्वमसि and oneness of the meaning of तत्त्वमसि and कृष्ण तवास्मि is established. The first is said to be विप्रयोगात्मक and the latter is said to be संयोगरसात्मक. ²³¹

In this tract, GO refers to his three works स्वतंत्र, सर्वोत्तमविवृति and भावनामंजूषा. ²³² The first appears to be his tract on the stanza धन्यास्तु मूढमतयो..... (BG - X - 18 - 11) of the long com on the SS and the second is GO's brief com on the SS. No work having a title भावनामंजूषा is traceable to-day. At some places in his long com on the SS, GO uses the word भावमंजूषा and possibly भावमंजूषा or भावनामंजूषा might have been a figurative title of the long com. But in the absence of any other authority or cogent evidence, it remains a moot point. ²³³

We find, in the tract, that the author has propounded an original and non-traditional interpretation of the Gayatrī. It may be objected

231. Vide P.5, Ibid.

232. Cf. मया स्वतंत्रे हरिणीनां शुद्धज्ञानक्रियाप्राचुर्यप्रस्तावे सर्वोत्तमस्यापि विवृती प्रपञ्चितमस्ति । - - - - - Ibid, P.2, ...Cf.

also, ... इत्यत्र महावाक्यार्थरहस्यं मया भावनामंजूषायामुद्घाटितं विज्ञेयं .. - Ibid, P.5.

233. Vide Chapters III and III(a).

that the meanings given by GO are unauthentic and have no bearing on the wording of the Gāyatrī; for example, the word तत् in it is interpreted as कालत्रयाबाधितं.... वेदातीतमकारातीतं सर्वाज्ञातलीलं सत्यमिति निरवध्यानंदघनतरं परं श्रेष्ठं पुरुषोत्तमरूपं विरहाग्नेः नीलशिखिनः एव स्वप्नसवज्ञापकं.....etc., and the Gāyatrī is taken to be the 'svarūpa' of Svāminī. Similarly, it can^{be} argued that the Gāyatrī is a stanza from the Rgveda Saṁhitā, and how can it be called वेदमाता ? It must be admitted that there is a truth in the arguments. But we have to remember that GO gives in his tract, a sectarian interpretation, an interpretation in keeping with the S'uddhādvaita doctrine. The interpretation is based on the acceptance of the belief in the world of divine sports (लीलाजगत् or the गोलोक), where Kṛṣṇa is eternally sporting with His consort Rādhā alias Svāminī, with all the necessary accessories and which is the ultimate destination of a devotee believing in the S'uddhādvaita doctrine.

The style of the tract is mature and difficult to follow. The sentence - construction is elaborate and full of long compounds and at places it is disorderly. We find the same style in his long com on the SS and in his tract on the stanza 'asmat

kulam.....'. We find in the commentator a convinced profound scholar of S'uddhādvaita Philosophy.

(iv) Comm on the two Mantras & Other tracts

1. Com on the Eight-syllabic Mantra

Aṣṭākṣara or the eight-syllabic mantra (श्रीकृष्णः शरणं मम) is well known among the Vaiṣṇavas. As tradition goes, the mantra is to be silently muttered by the devotees, while he turns, on his finger-tips, a rosary of 108 beads. VT and GO have written comm on this mantra.

I have read GO's com on the eight-syllabic mantra in MS.²³⁴ The com begins with obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, VL and VT. The colophon reads:

.....अन्य शास्त्रेषु कृष्णशब्द वर्तते परंतु य उक्तं
तात्पर्यः तदेव श्रीकृष्ण राधा कृष्णे चरणारविदे शरणं भव ॥
इति श्री गोकुलनाथकृता अष्टाक्षरविवृति ॥ १ ॥ ²³⁵

As the MS is found in the collection of a Bharuclī Vaiṣṇava and as the general spirit of interpretation is in line with other comm of GO, it

234. The MS is available in the MSS-collection of Fari Nathji Madhavji of Kapadvanj (Dist. Kaira, Gujarat).

235. The MS is hopelessly incorrect.

is not wrong to accept the com as the work of GO.

The work extends over nearly three pages and as it is incorrect, it is difficult to follow at some places: e.g. the sentences श्रीकृष्णशरणे सदैव एतन्मष्टाक्षरे भवति। and आवणास्थैश्वर जायते यया शक्तित्वं उच्यते are difficult to understand.

The com first gives the views of different systems of philosophy and then shows the purpose of the birth of VL and the Brahma-sambandha. The main point to be noted is this: the Gadhyamantra refers to the 'virahātmake' form of Kṛṣṇa, while the eight-syllabic mantra refers to the 'rasātmake' form of Kṛṣṇa. The word 'S'rī' is said to be indicative of this.

There is another small work (tract) ascribed to GO. It is जपप्रकार जयवा महावाक्यशरणमंत्र व्याख्यानम्. Its MSS are available in Kāṅkarolī, Nāthadvārā and Kāmavāna.²³⁶ The tract is simple, but ²³⁶, In the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī there is one MS (Sanskṛta section No.54/93), on which the words "श्रीगोकुलनाथजी कृत" are found. It contains four leaves of the size of 9/4"x5". The lists of MSS of the Devekinandana Pustakālaya of Kāmavāna and of Nāthadvārā also mention a work, called ^{महावाक्यशरणमंत्र व्याख्यानम्} and ascribe it to GO. I could have no access to them, but the MSS may be the same as the MS of Kāṅkarolī. There is one जपप्रकार in Vrajabhāṣā (Kāṅkarolī MS No.90/2, P.168) which is the gist of the work under ~~discussed~~ discussion).

incorrect at some places. It shows how to mutter the two mantras, the five-syllabic (कृष्ण तवास्मि) and the eight-syllabic. It shows that the fruit of the first is 'survātma-bhāva' and that of the second is two-fold : God's grace and desire to give the highest fruit to the devotee and secondly the removal of demoniac nature. The first is to be muttered while the devotee sits before the Lord (i.e. the idol) and the other["] to be muttered when he is out of the niṣa-mandir (parokṣe). The work enjoins a devotee to remember all the sports of Kṛṣṇa, to have the spirit of humility and to conceive the feeling of ~~separ~~ separation, while muttering the mantras.

Both these tracts have nothing new to say, and perhaps therefore, are not widely known.

2. Comm on the Gadyamantra

There are two mantras (incantations) used for initiation or consecration in the Puṣṭimārga; one is the eight-syllabic mantra, also called नाममंत्र or शरणमंत्र , and the other is the Gadyamantra, also called निवेदनमंत्र , समर्पणमंत्र

or ब्रह्मसम्बन्ध मंत्र . It is believed that the first mantra qualifies a devotee to do the nine-fold worship, while the second one qualifies him to do bhagavat-sevā.

It is said that once VL was drowned in deep anxiety and as regards the uplift (or elevation) of the divine souls, engrossed in their mundane circumstances and not remembering their original form. The day was the eleventh of the bright half of the month of S'rāvāṇa and the time of was mid-night. At that time, Lord Govardhananāthajī, manifested Himself to VL and 'gave' (taught) him the said Gadyamantra and asked him (VL) to consecrate the souls with it. The Lord said that such consecration would unite the souls with Him and will qualify them to serve (worship) Him. The incident is noted in the SR of VL. It is also said that the Lord only asked VL not to worry ^{and} but to teach the souls to surrender themselves to ~~etc~~ Him. The mantra was a spontaneous utterance of dedication by VL.

The mantra is esoteric in nature and is not uttered in public and is not muttered without taking a bath and keeping a state of अस्पर्श (अपरस-untouchability). The gist of the mantra is this: I am separated from Thee, O Lord Kṛṣṇa, for thousands of

years and even do not remember that I am separated from Thee. Now I surrender to Thee everything, that I consider mine, I wholly resort to Thee, I am Thy slave. Complete whole-hearted surrender and complete identification with the will of God is the spirit of this mantra, which bespeaks the nature of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga.²³⁷

237. The same spirit is noticed in Rādhā's prayer of S'rī Mātājī, uttered in the Arvindās'rama of Pondicherry. The teaching of Arvind Ghosha has much similarity with that of VL. I have heard some persons calling it, Neo-vaishnavism. Some lines from Rādhā's prayer are quoted below:

"O Thou whom at first sight I knew for the Lord of my Being and my God, receive my offering. Thine are all my thoughts, all my emotions, all the sentiments of my heart I am absolutely Thine, Thine without reserve. What Thou wilt of me that I shall be. Whether Thou choolest for me life or death, happiness or sorrow....., all that come from Thee will be welcome. Each one of Thy gifts will be always for me a gift divine bringing with it supreme felicity."

I have seen five comm on the Gadyamantra. ~~Four~~²³⁸ of them are by GO, Vrajābharanājī, Harirāyājī and Giridharājī, and one com²³⁹ does not mention its author clearly; a note at the end of the com states that the author may be either GO or Vallabhājī Lekhavalā or some Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The comm, ~~excepting~~ that of GO, are very short and do not

238. I read them in MS. I got the MS from Shri P.T. Kavi of Nadiad. The MS is a diary of the size of 4" x 7" . The comm are given in it in the following order:-

- (1) Com of GO - 56 pages. (2) Com of Vallabha - 10 pages. (3) Com of Harirāyājī - 10 pages. (4) Com of Vrajābharanājī - 10 pages. (5) Com of Giridharājī - 16 pages.

The above comm^{are} taken down from a published book, which is not available to-day.

The Com of GO is available in print, published in the GVS.

239. Cf. भावितं श्री वल्लभेन। इति श्रीवल्लभाग्निदेवनामधेयकृतिमता निवेदितं गद्यार्थनिरूपणम् । - - - - - Ibid, P.10.

Cf. also अस्य च विरेणस्य प्राचीनप्रतानुसारेण प्रणीतार श्री गोकुलनाथा वा श्रीवल्लभा लेखकृतौ वा, नवपुस्तकानुसारेण सेवाफलरीत्या अस्य कर्ता लक्ष्मण भट्टो वा तन्निश्चेतुं नैव शक्नुमः । - - -

- Ibid, P.11.

discuss any important point. Vrajābhāraṇajī says that Lord Kṛṣṇa is युगलस्वरूप , and so there are two mantras, the first is meant for all and the second is for those who are dear to VL. He explains the words of the mantra with quotations from the BG and the Sub. Harirāyājī enjoins muttering of both the mantras, after obeisance to VL and VT and then the teacher who teaches (gives) the mantra. Giridharajī does not add anything more, but notes that GO is said to have added the word श्रीगोपीजनवल्लभाय in the mantra and then, he shows its purpose.

Puruṣottamajī has not written a com on the Gadyamantra, but in his com on the SR, he discusses how सर्वज्ञसमर्पण by the Gadyamantra differs from that shown in the BG. He also says why both males and females are asked to make समर्पण and what the word दारा signifies.

GO's com is the longest and the earliest of all the available comm on the Gadyamantra, and brings out the true meaning of the mantra. He categorically states that the mantra is taught by the Lord.²⁴⁰ He explains each

240. Cf. तत्त्वमिति सू प्रकाशजिज्ञासायां भगवदुपदिष्ट - श्रीमदाचार्यसमर्पणगद्यार्थी विचार्यते । - - GVS, P.103.

and every word of the mantra and their propriety. He states why the word परिवत्सर instead of संवत्सर is used. He raises a prima facie view, which states that तापक्लेश, , caused by wordly affairs are referred to in the mantra, and he replies that it is not so; तापक्लेश caused by the separation from the Lord are referred to in the mantra. Such separation is experienced by those who are accepted by the Lord. The commentator says that the words देहेतदमर्शिव and दारागारपराणि of the mantra, respectively indicate the objects of I-ness (अहंता) and mineness (ममता) , and therefore, they are to be dedicated to the Lord. He gives an ingenious interpretation of the word अपद्वय , which is to be understood as the other world. If a soul earns merit (पुण्य), he has to go to the other world and that would delay the soul's accompaniment with the Lord. Hence, all merits too, are to be surrendered to Him. The word अहम् is used twice in the mantra and GO rightly says that the first अहम् is to be taken as 'I' full of ego and the next अहम् is to be understood as ' I ' free from ego, because the soul first surrenders everything to the Lord and then says दासोऽहं कृष्ण तवास्मि.

He has shown the difference between the paths of knowledge and the Puṣṭimārga.²⁴¹ The first enjoins the means such as restraint of mind and senses etc., while the latter is based on dedication, service of the Lord with love, which releases the soul from the five-fold ne-science. He shows that surrender (समर्पण) is a sacrament just like the teaching of the Gāyatrī. The ladder of elevation is shown in this way :

समर्पण → सेवाधिकार → प्रेम, भासकित,
व्यसन → अध्यासनिवृत्ति → फल :²⁴²

In this com, he has discussed the meaning of the word बीजभाव used in Bh^{nc} (St.1) and has shown consistency of what is stated in Bh^v, SN and TDN. In it, he categorically states that the giving up of वर्णाश्रम is not necessary for

241. Vide GVS P.106 and P.107.

242. Cf.पुष्टिमार्गं स्वसर्वस्वनिवेदनपूर्वकं सेवाप्रवृत्तौ तत्रैव देहादिविनियोगे प्रमोत्पत्त्या तद्विषयकाध्यासनिवृत्तिस्ततो विगाढभावेन देहावसाने साक्षाद्भजनानन्दानुभवः । -

- Ibid GVS, P.107.

doing Lord's worship.²⁴³

An important point to be noted in connection with GO's com on the Gadyamantra is this: It is said that the mantra did not contain the word श्रीगोपीजनवल्लभाय , but GO later added it. Followers of the 'Six Houses',²⁴⁴ do not include that word when they utter the mantra, while the followers of the 'Fourth House' include it in the mantra. GO considers the word श्री-- श्रीगोपीवल्लभाय as a part of the mantra itself and states that the word is used to qualify the word कृष्णाय . According to him the word गोपीजनवल्लभाय is used to indicate Kṛṣṇa's nature of having the sentiment of love (शृंगाररसरूपत्वं), the word 'S'rī' is used to indicate the Gopīs and it is suggested that union with the Lord is assured by complete surrender to the Lord of Love, and that no other means are necessary.²⁴⁵ A question may be asked why did GO add the word in the sacred mantra?

243. Cf. अत्र वणाश्रमधर्मात्यागो भगवत्सेवोपयोगिनां स्वस्य गृहादीनां च दोषाभावात् - GVS P.110.

244. ~~वटः~~ VT had seven sons. GO was his fourth son. After VT passed away, the seven sons got separated, & established their separate seats. Followers of GO are called the followers of the 'Fourth House' and others are called followers of the 'Six Houses'.

245. Cf. तेन पूर्णशृंगाररसात्मके कृतेनात्मनिवेदनेनैव संयोगरसस्यापि प्राप्तिर्भवति न तदर्थं साधनान्तरापेक्षोक्तिभावः। - GVS, P.104.

In defence, it be said that he might have done so with a view to clarifying and emphasizing the fact that कृष्ण mentioned in the mantra is the Lord of the Gopīs and not VL and/or his descendents.²⁴⁶

But nowhere does he state that the word in question is not a part of the mantra. How this state of affair with regard to the mantra took place is a point which remains unexplained in the absence of any more information. Did GO offer another version of the mantra?²⁴⁷

246. The Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics wrongly states that "The dedication in the first instance ...is that which takes place when the offering is made to the guru, through whom it reaches Kṛṣṇa of whom he is the manifestation Vol. XII, P.581 - 582.

247. I met some Bharucī Vaisṇavas and inquired of them whether GO added the word in question in the mantra.

I was informed that the mantra in GO's handwriting is treasured at Vallabhaghātā (Gokul) and in Broach and in neither of them, the word in question occurs. I had no opportunity to read the mantra in GO's handwriting and hence cannot opine about the veracity of the information.

There is another small com on the Gadyamantra, which is ascribed to GO.²⁴⁸ In the beginning it treats, in short, the subject of the nature of Brahman and how the Gadyamantra came into existence. Then, the mantra is given and explained. There is nothing noteworthy about this com.

In connection with the mantra, one point needs to be noted. Shri M. T. Telivale opines that the original mantra was only कृष्ण तवास्मि

248. ६ I read the MS of the com, called समर्पणविवृति: in Kapadvanj (Dist. Kaira). I saw the MS in the collection (Vol. X) of Pari Nathaji Madhavji. The MS is incorrect. The com ends with the following lines.:

तत्रैव सर्वालीलानंदरूपा अद्वितीया तत्र मदीयगमनं भवेति प्रार्थना
कृष्ण तवास्मि। इति दीनतापूर्वकं मम कुत्रापि दृष्टिचांचल्यं न
वर्तते सर्वं समर्पितं इदानीं कृपा विधेया स ममोपरि कृष्णफलात्मके
भगवतीति समर्पणविधिः इति श्रीगोकुलनाथ कृता समर्पणविवृतिः
समाप्ता।

and the whole Gadya preceding to it was added later by VT.²⁴⁹ No authority is quoted to substantiate his opinion. Neither GO nor any other commentator say anything in this respect.

3. Tracts on some of the verses of the BG and the Sub.

GO is said to have written tracts

249. Cf. "The initiation of the Vaiṣṇavas was a very simple formula, as he put it some where in his Subodhinī, Viz., Kṛṣṇa, I am Thine, कृष्ण तवास्मि This would seem to be the ordinary mode of initiation as communicated to VL by Lord S'rī Kṛṣṇa. But for the practical purposes of the Sampradāya, some solemn declaration was a necessity, and hence we feel it is possible that the language used in the explanation incorporated in the Gadya formula (सहस्र..... तवास्मि) is the work of S'rī Viṭṭhales'vara." - Shri K.M. Zaveri: Imperial Firmans: S'ri Viṭṭhales'vara and his Vidvanmandana, P.13. The sketch of the life of VT is written by Shri Telivala, as stated by the editor of the work.

('svatantras') on some of the verses of the BG and the Sub. Harirāyajī makes a mention of his अर्थत्व विवृति ;²⁵⁰ and a work named सुबोधिनीप्रश्नटीका is^{also} ascribed to him. But these works are not available to-day. Perhaps, they are not the titles of his works, but refer to some of his tracts on the BG and the Sub or to his discourses on them, some of which are found in his scattered vacanāmṛts and also in his long com on the SS.²⁵¹ In the present state of affairs, we have no authority of evidence to state that GO wrote a particular number of tracts on the BG and the Sub. Only the available tracts are referred to here.

GO himself mentions one of his tracts in the GB.²⁵² Probably, it is the tract on the stanza ' धन्यास्तु मूढतयः..... '(BG.X.18-11).²⁵³ The

^{250.} Vide chapter III, footnote no. 45.

^{251.} Vide, for example, P.MS P.152, where the stanza

तासांमादिरभूत् शौरिः स्मयमानमुत्ताम्बुजः (BG.X.29-2) is explained.

^{252.} Vide Chapter III, a footnote No.10.

^{253.} In the list of the MSS in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī, there are some tracts ascribed to GO. I could have an access to only one, referred to above. Vide appendix X.

tract is very helpful in understanding GO's views and method of explanation. He states that in the Puṣṭimārga, rules of the way of convention (Māyādā-mārga) are not to be obeyed, and that is not its fault, but it is its adornment.²⁵⁴ He says that the animals and birds are considered senseless, devoid of intellect, according to the way of convention, but in the Puṣṭimārga, they are not looked upon as such. He has well explained how the pūjā of Kṛṣṇa done by the devotees is full of genuine love and how it is superior to the pūjā of the way of convention.

Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa states that GO wrote a tract²⁵⁶ on the stanza 'मणिधरः क्वचिदागणयन्..!' (BG - X - 32-19), but it is not accessible to-day.²⁵⁷

254. Cf. ...मयादिमार्गीयांगाभावो, न भूषणं न तु दू - - Kāṅkarolī MS No. 35/21, P. 2.

255. Cf. मयादिमार्गे मूढमतयः पुष्टिमार्गे अमूढमतयः। अन्यथा अपिशब्दवैयर्थ्यापत्तिः। - - - Ibid, P. 3.

256. Vide Kallola XII - Tārāṅga - 9 - St. 19, 20.

257. In Kāṅkarolī there is one MS, which is a tract on the stanza in question and is ascribed to GO, but I could not get it.

It is said that GO wrote a tract on, the well known stanzas ' क्रिया सर्वापि सर्वत्र....स्फुटम् । ' ²⁵⁸ It is printed as a part of the Tippiṇī ²⁵⁹ of VT and it is noted, on the strength of Puruṣottamajī's statement ²⁶⁰ that it is written by GO. This statement is corroborated by Gopaldas also. ²⁶¹ In this tract, GO has explained clearly that the Lord sported with the Gopīs but there was no physical passion in the actions which were similar to those

258. These are the four Kārikās at the end of VL's Sub. on the BG. X, Chapter 26.

259. It is edited by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia in 1977.

260. Cf. "अत्र कारिकाव्याख्यानं टिप्पणीपुस्तकेषु दृश्यते, तत् पाण्डुलिखने नास्तीति श्रीगोकुलनाथनां तत्प्रतिभाति, लेखरीत्यापि तथेति चे'ति श्री पुरुषोत्तमाः । - - - -Ibid, P.109(footnote). Vide also the editors' preface, P.3.

261. Cf. दसमतणै अध्याय छ बीसै ज्यांहां समाप्ते

श्री आचार्यजीनी कारिकात्यांहां ११४४।

पांच कारिका छै ते मध्ये पहिली जेह

क्रीया सर्वूपीसेवात्र छेहे ते हे ॥१४५॥

.....एक कारिकातणुं अ लीखन अलोक ॥१४७

रसीक स्वरूपे रसावेश थईअ लख्यु निजदासनी

रक्षाहीते प्रगट... - भाख्युं ॥१४८॥

-Gopaldas: Trtiya Paraṅga, Maṅgala - 12.

in the physical enjoyments, because the Lord had no physical passion.²⁶²

It is said that some additions were made by GO in the Tippanī of VT, but we have no evidence to sift out from the Tippanī, additions made by GO.²⁶³

+ + + + + + + + +

The above is in short, the study of GO's available works. His diction and style are not of the same type in all the works. At some places, the diction is lucid and the style is simple and easy, but at many places, he follows the elaborate bhāṣya - style, uses very long compounds and makes his *commentary* difficult to follow.

262. Cf. यदि भक्तानां लौकिकः कामः स्यात्तर्ह्यलौकिकेन भगवत्कामेन पूर्णं न स्यात् , तयोः परस्परमेकजातीयत्वाभावात् । -

- Tippanī, P.109.

263. It is said that GO wrote a tract on the line बहिर्मुखाः हि धर्मशास्त्रज्ञाः (Sub. X - 26-32), wherein he is said to have stated that आत्मधर्म is more important than the देहधर्म . Unfortunately I have not come across the tract.

His comm offer analytical discussions about the salient features of the S'uddhādvaita view. At places, he gives etymological explanations also to substantiate his stand. His comm have well explained the works of VL and VT (whom he acknowledges as his great Masters) and have shown their true import.

As regards the means of proof (pramāṇas), he follows VL and accepts the four authorities (UP, BS, Gītā and BG). He does not ignore the Vedic authorities, but quotes mostly from the Gītā and the BG, which is considered the fruit of the Veda.²⁶⁴

The long com of the SS (Badi Tīkā) and the comm^{the} on^{the} Gadyamantra, GB, 'Asmat Kulani...' and^{the} Guptarasa can be called his monumental contribution to the S'uddhādvaita literature.

264. Cf. निगमतरौर्गलितं फलं.... 1- BG, I.1.3.

Chapter III (b)

The Vārtā - Sāhitya

(i) The Vārtā - Sāhitya:

Works written in Vrajabhāṣā and known as the Vārtās are generally ascribed to GO. Under this caption, generally the following works are included:

- (1) Stories of 84 Vaiṣṇavas
- (2) Stories of 252 Vaiṣṇavas
- (3) Bhāva Sindhu (BhS)
- (4) Nija Vārtā (NV)
- (5) Gharu Vārtā (GV)
- (6) Bethaka Caritra (BC)
- (7) S'rī Mahāprabhuji ki Prakatya Vārtā
- (8) S'rī Nāthaji ki (or S'rī Goverdhannāthaji ki) Prakatya Vārtā
- (9) S'rī Gosāmīji ki " " (or Nija vārtā)
- (10) S'rī Gopināthaji ki Nija Vārtā
- (11) Vana - Yātrā

All these works are in Vrajabhāṣā.

(ii) Stories of 84 and 252 Vaiṣṇavas: Their authorship

Out of these works, the first two are the most important and have played and been playing an important role in the history of Puṣṭimārga. They are the compilations of the incidents in the lives of the 84 and 252 disciples of VL and VT respectively. They

give an account of how and when they became the disciples of VL & VT , how they performed Lord's sevā and what mystic and spiritual experiences they had during their life-time.

There is a controversy in Hindi Literature, as regards the authorship of these works. Critics like Ācārya Candrabālī Pāṇde, Dr. Dhīrendra Varmā, Ācārya Rāmacandra S'ukla, Dr. Mātāprasad Gupta and others have put forth doubts about the authorship of these Vārtās and have stated that GO could not be their author. They have all more or less misunderstood the words रचयिता, कथक and लेखक . The problem is fully examined, (and therefore need not be re-examined here), by, Hariharnath Tandan in his Thesis¹, named, 'Vārtā Sāhitya: An extensive study', and has shown that GO is the original author of these Vārtās. He writes : -

संदीपमें चौरासी, ^{नि}त्रीजवार्ता, धरुवार्ता के रचयिता श्री गोकुलनाथजी हैं तथा दोसौ बावन की वार्ता के भी मूल रचयित्वा वही हैं। केवल पूरक हरिरायजी हैं । जिन्होंने स्वतंत्ररूपसे इन वार्ताओं का भावनात्मक संस्करण प्रस्तुत किया है ।²

1. Vide P. 208 to 230

2. Hariharnath Tandan: Vārtā - Sāhitya, P.133.

Some of the salient points, however, may be noted here.

GO was a worthy son of a worthy father. After the passing away of VT, many Vaisnavas used to gather round GO. Usually, they came to him for religious sermons in the afternoon and at night and requested him to teach them the spirit of Puṣṭimārga and relate the happenings in the lives of S'rī VL and S'rī VT and their disciples. On such occasions, GO told them the stories of the Vaisnavas and the incidents that took place in the lives of VL and VT, and preached them the Puṣṭimārgīya way of life. These teachings were systematically collected under the names of the Vārtās and the Vacanāmṛtas, etc.

In the Sampradāya, it is said that one disciple was listening to these stories and was noting them down after going home. Once GO repeated an incident of the life of some vaiṣṇava, whereupon that disciple told him (GO) that it was already related. Then, GO asked him how he could remember the fact. The disciple replied that he used to write down those incidents after going home and read them off and on. GO did not like that such mystic experiences of the 'bhagavadīyaś' should be put in black and white, because they would someday go into the hands of the

unqualified (मनधिकारी) and faithless persons. It is said that from that day he stopped relating the Vārtās of Vaisnavas.

Whatever may be the truth in this, one thing is certain that GŌ is the author (i.e. the originator) of these Vārtās and that he did not like to get them written down. That he wanted to keep them beyond the reach of the unqualified is also corroborated by a statement in a MS (dated 1746 V.S.) in Kāṅkarolī, where it is stated that GŌ kept a 'Pothi', sent to him by Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa of Ujjain, under lock and key, but when it was copied down, he took it as God's will.³ He told the Vārtās only to the 'antarāṅga sevakas' (close disciples). But some of the disciples might have taken them down in black and white. There is one MS (NO.Hindi 98/2) in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī, which is dated 1697 V.S. (- Caitra Śukla Pañcamī), and which contains the 84 Vārtās, NV, GV, and the Vārtās of the four Sakhās from the 252 Vārtās.⁴ This proves, beyond

3. Cf. गोप्यवस्तु प्रगट भई भगवदिच्छा मानी! -H. Tandan's Vārtā Sāhitya, P.137.

4. Ibid p.139. Also vide Kāṅkarolī MS No.92/1 (Hindi) dated 1841 V.S., which contains only 131 Vārtās, of the disciples of both VL & VT.

doubt the fact that during the life-time of GO these 84 Vārtās were systematised and were read with reverence and faith by the Vaiṣṇavas. Although the earliest MS of 252 Vārtās is dated 1804 V.S.⁵, the incidents described in these Vārtās are found in the MSS dated 1796 V.S. and 1746 V.S.⁶, and the stories of the four Sakhās are found in the MS of Kāṅkarolī dated 1697⁷. Some incidents of 252 Vārtās are also found in the Vacanāmṛta literature of GO. Possibly, the 252 Vārtās were given the present written form by Harirāyaji (1647 - 1772 V.S.), for he has written a Tīpanī called Bhāva - Prakāśa on 252 Vārtās as well as on the ~~84~~ 84 Vārtās.

We find other proofs also as regards the authorship of the Vārtāsāhitya.

(1) GO has written a list, in Saṃskṛta, of the 84 Vaiṣṇavas, known as S'rī Gokula-nāthjī Kṛta Nāmāvalī.

5. Vide 252 Vaiṣṇavakī Vārtā (ed. D. Parikh) Part 3, Viś'leṣanātmaka Adhyāyana, P.9.

6. Cf. H. Tandon's Vārtā Sāhitya, P.135. Also see Kāṅkarolī MS No.941 (Hindi) dated 1841, which contains 131 Vārtās of some of the disciples of VL and VT.

7. Ibid, p. 139.

(2) The Sampradāya- Kalpadruma which is dated 1729 V.S. mentions, among the works of GŌ, the work called Vallabha Viṭhala Vārtā⁸, which means the stories of the disciples of VL and VT.

(3) In the com on the Vallabhāṣṭaka and the SS, GŌ, refers to the incidents of the lives of Kṛṣṇadāsa and Padmanābhadaśa respectively.^{8(a)}

(4) Rasakhāna has written a list of 84 Vaisnavas in Vrajabhāṣā and he is well known as the disciple of VT and the date of his initiation is round about 1630 V.S.

(5) Viṣṇudāsa Chīpā (Circa 1570 - 1680 V.S.) has written चौरासी वैष्णवके चौखरा wherein he says, "चौरासी महाभाग निजजन के निमल गुन गाइए।"

(6) The Bhaktamāla of Nābhadaśa mentions 34 celebrated Vaisnavas out of these 84 and 252. The date of the composition of Bhaktamāla is circa 1640-80 V.S.

(7) The Prabhu - Carita - Cintāmaṇi of Devakī - nandanajī (birth date 1634 V.S.) says that

8. Cf. वल्लभ विठ्ठल वारता प्रकट कीन नृपमान - SK P.140-42.

8(a). Vide comment on st.8 of Vallabhāṣṭaka and on St.23 of the SS (GVS P.100 and 57 respectively). In the Bādī-tīkā also Damodardas is also mentioned, vide P. 24 of the Porbandar MS.

GO used to tell the Vaiṣṇavas the incidents that happened in the lives of VL and VT⁹. The date of its composition is circa 1660 V.S.

(8) The celebrated poet and one of the 'Aṣṭa Sakhas', Parmānandadāsa writes in one of his padas (which begins with प्रातः समे उठि करिये श्रीलक्ष्मण सुत गान) that श्री गोकुलनाथ प्रकट किमो मारग बखान Parmānandadāsa left this mortal world in 1640 or 1641 V.S. This shows that by 1641 GO came to be known among the Vaiṣṇavas as an expositor of the Puṣṭimārga, by his Vacanāmṛtas and by the Vārtās.

(9) Yadunātha's Vallabha-Digvijaya, which is said to have been written in 1658 V.S., contains, certain events that we find in the Vārtās.¹⁰

9. Cf. तदपि भगवत्सेवा परैः श्रीगोकुलनाथैः शयनभोगसेवोत्तरलब्ध गाथा-
वसरैः सुबोधिन्यादिना श्री भगवत्कथाकथनान्तरं श्री मदाचार्यतदात्मजचरितकथा
नित्यनियमेन परिगृहीता वक्तुम्। - प्रभुचरित चिंतामणिः -

Quoted by S'rī H. Tandan in his Vārtā - Sāhitya
on P. 52.

10. Cf. Also the Stanza : - चतुरशीतिस्तद्भक्ता आहुयस्ति
तत्कथाः। - वल्लभ दिग्विजय । - quoted by S'rī

H. Tandan in his Vārtā Sāhitya on P.120.

(10) Pracīna - Vārtā - Rahasya states that these Vārtās are composed after 1642 V.S. and before 1645 V.S., for it notes that "कहनबाईनी वार्तामां श्रीगोकुलनाथजी यज्ञ करवा माटे श्रीगिरिधरजीनी संमति मागे छे ते बतावे छे के तेओ जुदा थया पहिलां वार्ताओ रचाई हशे. " //

GO and his eldest brother Giridharajī separated in 1645 V.S.¹²

(11) Prākṛtya Siddhānta of Gopaladas (Maṅgala third and fourth) has given a similar list of the disciples of VL. Its date is circa 1700 V.S.

These are some of the facts which GO to prove that the author of these Vārtās is GO. The words, गोकुलनाथजी कहत हे etc. simply found in them are added by the scribes. The Gosvāmīs were keeping scribes with them and generally they dictated their works to them, and hence we cannot hope to get all their works in their own handwriting, much less the Vārtās, which were not intended to be written at all. However, one thing is certain that the 84 Vārtās got their present form and order during GO's life, as the words '84 Vaiṣṇavas' are referred to by several authors and a MS dated 1697 V.S. is found in Kāṅkarolī. In the

11. Cf. Part I, preface P.7.

12. Vide Kallola III - Taraṅga 61.

case of the 252 Vārtās, it cannot be said so with certainty, as neither^{an} authentic statement nor a MS earlier than 1697 V.S. is available. The 252 Vārtās might have possibly taken the present form after GO's passing away, although all or some of the Vārtās might have been narrated by him.

With regard to this Vārtā literature, one question would quite naturally be asked: How could GO know all these incidents, so varied and so different? An answer to the question may be attempted. He was in very close contact with his father and the disciples of his father and grandfather.¹³ Many stories of the Vaisnavas had become prevalent in the sampradāya even in the times of VL and VT. The Sampradāya Pradīpa of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, written in 1610 V.S. contains some incidents, which we find in the 84 Vārtās. This, too, might have been helpful to GO. So, he might have learnt these incidents from his father and the disciples. His knowledge was varied

13. Cf. 252 Vārtās Part II P.312 (ed. D. Parikh)

(No.147): श्रीगुसांईजी श्री मुख तें कहें.....ऐसें श्रीगुसांईजी श्रीमुखतें आज्ञा दीनी।

Such statements prove one fact that certain incidents (of 252 Vārtās) might have happened during GO's life and some might have been heard by him from his father.

and vast and he had a faculty of deep retention. He had an art and a capacity to teach the doctrines of S'uddhādvaita Puṣṭimārga to his disciples through examples and anecdotes and tales. The Vacanāmṛta literature is a testimony to this fact. It was not impossible for GO to gather the material of these Vārtās from various sources as stated above and systematise it into the vārtās.

Another question, too, may be raised. Were there really only 84 disciples of VL and 252 of VT ? Really speaking it is not so. The number of the Vaiṣṇavas mentioned in the 84 Vārtās is 92, but the number is brought to 84, by putting some of them under one family group. For example, Tulasāṃ is included in the Vārtā (No. 4) of Padamanābhadaśa. Similarly, the Vārtās No. 44 and 75 are those of two persons but are taken as the Vārtā of one Vaiṣṇava only. Even the Nāmāvalī of Vaiṣṇavas by GO. mentions more than 84 Vaiṣṇavas, if we count each of them separately and it also says that there are many disciples of VL.¹⁴ Moreover, in the story of Sūradāśa it is said that all his (Sūradāśa's) followers were initiated by VL.¹⁵

14. Cf. श्रीमदाचार्य भक्तानां नामानि बहवस्तथा GO's Nāmāvalī, St. 17.

15. Vide Corāśī Vaiṣṇavakī Vārtā (ed. D. Farikh in 2010 V.S.), P. 742

Similar is the case with 252 Vārtās. I think, only those Vaiṣṇavas, who came to be known in the sāmpradāya in one way or the other and who had some mystic experiences, were made the subject of these Vārtās.

One can ask, then, why the number is taken to 84 and 252. The fact is that there is something mystic about the number 84, like the numbers 5, 11, 18, 108 etc. It indicates the 84 lakhs of births through which a soul has to pass, before attaining \bar{L} salvation. Harirāyaji has written Bhāva Prakāś'a, popularly known as 'stories of three births', on these Vārtās. In the beginning of the Bhāva Prakāś'a on the 84 Vārtās he says:

चौरासी वैष्णवन की कारन यह है, जो देवी जीव चौरासी लक्ष योद्धि में परे हैं, तिनमें तैं निकासि वेके अर्थ चौरासी वैष्णव किये । सो जीव चौरासी प्रकार के हैं ।..... एक एक लक्ष योनिमें तैं एक एक वैष्णव निर्गुण वारे को उद्धार (इन) वैष्णवन द्वारा किये ।

और आचार्यजी के अंग द्वादश हैं, सो स्वरूपात्मक हैं। एक एक अंगमें सात सात धर्म हैं । ऐश्वर्य, वीर्य, यश, श्री, ज्ञान, वैराग्य ये छह धर्म, एक धर्म सातमी । यह प्रकार बारह सत्ते चौरासी वैष्णव श्री आचार्यजी के अंग रूप अलौकिक सर्व सामर्थ्य रूप हैं ।¹⁶

16. Ibid, P.1 & 2.

The 84 disciples of VL are nirguṇa and out of the 252 disciples of VT 84 are sātṭvika, 84 are rājasa, and 84 are tāmasa.¹⁷

These are the later interpretations.

It is difficult to say whether GO intended such interpretations. This is done to impress upon the mind of the reader the greatness of the Ācāryas and their disciples and to create a system out of the simple stories of the disciples of VL & VT.

As regards the events, where the Lord is described as talking playing with the devotees, one may like to say that they are all bogus fabrications. Such criticism is not proper. For, these are all spiritual experiences and such experiences are beyond the ken of ordinary human intelligence. Mysticism is ~~an~~ a part and parcel of religion and cannot

17. Vide 252 Vaiṣṇavanakī Vārtā (ed. D. Parikh)
Part I, P.1.

be estranged from it.¹⁸ One French writer once said that for those who believe in God, no proof is necessary; for those who do not believe in God, no proof would be of any use. So, ultimately, this becomes a question of faith and belief. All religions have more or less such type of literature and it is more or less based on experience. The Jātaka - kathās are an instance in point.

S'rī Hariharnath Tandan states in his

18. Read: "Mysticism is an approach to Truth and Reality, ...Mysticism arises from the demand of Life and Spirit.... it is an approach to Truth through life and experience." - Mahendranth Sircar's Mysticism in Bhagavad. Gītā. Preface P. V-VI.

Read also: Mysticism is 'the type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of religion with God, on direct and intimate consciousness of the divine presence. It is religion in its most acute, intense and living stage.' - Studies in Mystical Religion: Introduction P. XV. - quoted in the abovementioned book I Preface P. VI.

thesis, named Vārtā - Sāhitya, that इनके (वातार्ताओं के) आदि लेखक उज्जैन के कृष्णभट्ट हैं, जिन की पोथी के आधार पर ही इनका विस्तार हुआ है।¹⁹ He also says that यहां यह निर्विवाद रूपसे निश्चय हो जाता है कि गद्यवार्ता के सर्व प्रथम लेखक श्रीगोकुलनाथजी नहीं हैं वरन् श्री कृष्ण भट्टजी हैं और हिंदीगद्य के आदि लेखक यह कृष्ण भट्टजी ही हैं, श्री गोकुलनाथजी नहीं। इनकी लिखी पोथीसे प्रभावित होकर श्री गोकुलनाथजीने वार्ता के बृहद् संस्करण की जो योजना की और इन के महत्त्व को बढ़ाया व मान्यता दी इससे ये ही उसके आदि लेखक माने गए हैं वरन् श्री कृष्णभट्टका नाम उसी प्रकार विस्मृत हो गया है जिस प्रकार सुंदर भवन निर्माण करनेवाले के स्थान पर उसका सारा श्रेय उसका निर्माण करानेवाले को मिल जाया है।²⁰

This conclusion is based on the following passage taken from a MS (Kāṅkarolī Vidyāvibhāga: Hindi MS No. 101/1) : -

एक समे गौवर्धनदास परम भागवर्ध उत्तम सों उज्जैन में कृष्ण भट्ट के घर आए सो कृष्ण भट्टने आगे भली कीनी । भोजन कीयो । भोजन करिके बैठे तब भट्टजीने कह्यो कछु सुनावो । रात्रि दिवस वैष्णवन की वार्ता करें सो करते करते तिन दिवस छिन रात्री बीतित गई । चौथी दिवस देह की सुधि भई तब भट्टाणीने उनको स्नान करवायो महाप्रसाद लीवायो सो आज्ञा मांगि के

19. Cf. Conclusion No.18, P.638

20. Ibid, P. 353, and P.230 also.

अपने देश की चले। तब कृष्ण भट्टने ए बातें लिखि सौ दिन प्रति इनकी पाठ करे। और कौञ्ज^३ भगवदीय वैष्णव आवे तासों कहे। यों करते भट्टजु को सरोर थक्यो। तब गोविंद भट्ट बेटासों कह्यो। बाबा ए पोथी अरु जो घरकी सौंज सब श्री गोकुल पठइयो। तदउपरांत गोविंद भट्ट श्री गोकुलनाथजी के सेवक सौ जब श्री गोकुल आए तब कृष्ण भट्टने श्रीगोकुलनाथजु दीखाए। तब श्रीगुसाईंजु प्रसन्न भए। भट्टने श्रीजुके मनकीवृत्त जांनि। सौ प्रथम नाऊं निवेदन श्री वल्लभने दियो। श्री गुसाईंजी की अक्षि जान्यो। सौ गोविंद भट्ट ने बोहोत भेट पठई। भांति भांति के मनोरथ किये। सौ ऐसे करते बोहोत वर्ष बीते। तब नेत्रवल घट्यो। तब विचार कियो पोथी श्री गुसाईंजीने श्री भागवत श्री सुबोभिनी टीका टीपनी सब पोथी अरु भेट वैष्णव जब चले तब उनकी सौंपी। कही श्रीवल्लभके आगे धरिओ अरु कही बाप की वस्तु बेटा पावे। वे वैष्णव चले सों श्री गोकुल आए। श्री गोकुलनाथजु के आगे राखि भेट और पोथी। जब महाप्रभुने बांच्यो तब हृदो भरि आयो। अरु कही यह निवेदन यीतनी कही। तब पोथी श्रीहस्तसों खोली तबबीच छोटी चौपरी निकसी। तब बांची।। बांचिके आंखि सों लगाई। अरु हृदय भरि आयो। सौ नितग्रन्थ पाठ करते ता पा छे और को पाठ करते। एक वार्ता अरु दोई बांचि के पेटोमें धरि के तारो मारि के भोजन को पधारे। यों करते बहुत बरस बीते तब नेत्र को प्रकार²¹ भयो। तब श्री रायजु सों कही के पोथी पेटोमें है सौ लाओ। तब श्री रायजु ने पेटो खोल कर पोथी श्री हस्त में दीनी नस सौ लीनी। लेकर नेत्रसों लगाई फेरि

21. The word must be 'Vikāra'.

रायजु को दीनी रायजुने पेटीमें धरी। सो नित्य यों
 करे सो एक दीवस रायजुने देखी तब नीकी लागी। तब इनके
 प्रिय श्री गोपालजु हुते। सोबात श्री रायजुने कही हमारे
 वैष्णवनकी बात है। तब गोपालजुने कही के दिलीए। तब
 इनन कही, वह देखी न जाए। मन्नाजी बहुत जतन करि
 राखत है। तारे में है। और मो पास मांगत है। तब
 आनके देत हैं। फिर के कहत है धरी तब कहूं। हां जो
 जब भोजन कू पाउं धरत है। तब फिर श्रीगोपालजुने कही,
 तुम एक काम करो। जब उनको देत हो तब तुमको वे
 फिर देत हैं तब इतनी करो आरे में कस्किे धरिके पेटीमें
 तारो दीजो। अरु वे पूछे तारो दियो तब कहियो दियो।
 तब कहि ज्यो भले। फिर जब दूसरी दीन श्री गोकुलनाथजुने
 मांगी तब रायजुने आये दीनी। तब श्रीजुने नेत्रसों लगाय के
 फिर दीनी। तब रायजुने आरे में धारी पाछे भोजन को
 पधारे। श्रीजु तो भोजन करके पीढ़े। पाछे श्री रायजु तो
 गोपालजु के घर पधारे। तब पीथी गोपालजुकी दीनी। तब
 पीथी बांच बांच कर गद् गद् कंठ भये। पाछे नारायणदास
 लेखक को बुलायो तब पीथी लिखाई सो उन दो ये प्रति
 कीनी। एक उनकी दीनी दूसरी लेखक के पास रही। सो
 गोपालजु रायजुने जानी नाहीं। सो सनेहिन के आगे कहे।
 सो बाँके एक और सनेही रहे सो बाँके आन के कही तब
 उनकी यह लीखाये देहु। तब आये कही तब उन लीखी

...३१२...

दीनी। ऐसे प्रति पांच सात भई। तब इक प्रति घनजीभाई
चोपराके तिनि दीखी। तब श्रीजुके आगे बात कही। श्रीजु
चीके खोज कियो परका पूछे। पाछें जानी जो रायजु के
काम हैं तब कह्यो गोप्य वस्तु प्रगट भई भगवदिच्छा
माननी। वार्ता २६ २२

The date of the MS is 1746 V.S. and the
colophon states that it is copied down from the
MS of Govindadāsa Brāhmaṇa.²³ In the MS there are
sentences in the present tense, e.g. सो श्री रघुनाथजी के
सेव्य अब हैं । and श्री गोकुलनाथजु माथें सेवा
बिराजत हैं । २३

This shows that the original MS of Govindadāsa was
written during GO's life.

The small booklet, which GO prized most
and read everyday with devotional attitude and kept
under lock and key, was later copied without his knowledge.

22. H. Tandan: Vārtā Sāhitya P.136-7 (Kāṅkarolī MS
Hindi No. 101 - 1 P. 65 - 66)

23. Cf. वि०सं० १७४६ वरष्को मीती सांवण शुदी ७ सुकरे पोथी लीखी छे।
प्रति गोविंददास ब्राह्मणनी पोथीथी लख्यु छे । - MS P. 68.

24. Ibid, P.15 and P. 27.

S'ri Hariharnath Tandan and S'ri Dvārkādās Parikh²⁵ maintain that GO composed and narrated the 84 and 252 Vārtās on the basis of the pothi of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, who is the first writer of some of these Vārtās.

I think that such a conclusion cannot be drawn from the above paragraph of the MS. The reasons are as under : ½

(1) The date of the ← 'pothi' of Govindadāsa is not given in the MS. The year 1746 V.S. is the date of Copying. As the words: ~~बहुत बरस बीते तब~~ नेत्रकी प्रकार(विकार?) भयो suggest, it might have been written during the last phase of GO's life.

(2) The above Vārtā does not give us the date when Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa died or when his 'pothi' was sent to GO. The words: बहुत बरस बीते तब नेत्रकी प्रकार(विकार?) भयो point to the fact that he (GO) got it when he was not very old. S'ri Tandan says that it reached S'rī GO before 1658 V.S., because by that time the 84 and 252 Vārtās had taken shape.²⁶ This statement is contradictory to what he later says on P.638.

25. Cf. 252 Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārtā Part III:

Analytical study, P.5.

26. इन बातोंका आधार श्रीगोकुलनाथजीके वचनामृत से

अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं हो सकता है । -

- Vārtā Sāhitya, P. 138.

(3) It is not known when Govardhandāsa went to Ujjain and told Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa the stories of the Vaiṣṇavas which formed the subject matter of the said small booklet.

(4) It is not said whence Govardhanadāsa came to know those Vārtā - Prasaṅgas. It is possible that Govardhandas might have learnt them from the common source viz. from Ś'ri Vṭ or his disciples or from the floating material among the Puṣṭimāggīyas.

(5) The Pothi of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa is not available otherwise a comparison could have been attempted.

(6) As the MS suggests, GO wanted to keep the contents of the Pothi a secret. So, how can it be said that he narrated these Vārtās on the basis of the 'Pothi' of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa or he elaborated the incidents described in the 'Pothi'.

The sure conclusion is this that Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote down some of the prasaṅgas of the lives of the Vaiṣṇavas, but we do not know in what year he did so, and therefore, we cannot definitely opine that he was the first writer.

Secondly, the pothi of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa might have perhaps the भावनात्मक स्वरूप - described in it, because the paragraph in question says that for three

days, Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa had no knowledge of his physical whereabouts.

It is possible that, if the 'pothi' came to the hands of GO in the early years of his life, he might have taken only some clues from it, but it is not right to conclude that he elaborated the material which formed the subject matter of the 'pothi' (i.e. the small booklet) in question.

So, in the absence of any contrary proof, we have to believe that the author (i.e. स्वमिता and कथक composer and narrator) of these Vārtas is GO. Of course, it should be admitted that he himself did not pen them down. He was the story-teller and the source of his stories might have been some of the Vaiṣṇavas, his father, and also the flouting material carried from one place to another by the 'bhagavadiyas.'

(iii) The Bhāva - Sindhu (Bṣ)²⁷.

This is a collection of the incidents that took place in the lives of the disciples, of VL., such as Dāmodaradāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa Meghana, Kṛṣṇadeva Rājā

27. It is published by S'ri Lallubhai C. Desai in 1978 V.S., in which he has stated that the publication is only a part, and that he has not come across the remaining part of it.

and others. In this work, the purport of the incidents is given, as its name suggests: e.g.

और एक समय श्रीगुसांईजीने आज्ञा करी जो श्री महाप्रभुजी को स्वरूप कहा करि जानी हो।। तब दामोदरदासने आज्ञा करी।। जो जगदीश जो श्रीठाकुरजी से अधिक करी जाने हे।। ताको यह भाव।। जो ऊभय सौंदर्यरूप आप कृपाकेनिधि " अदेयदानदक्षश्च महोदार-चरित्रवान् " से वा समय एसी भाव अधिक दिखायो। जो कलि मल दुष्ट जीव अपराधी साधन रहित से ता को महान् फल दियो।। जो योग्यता अयोग्यता कछु विचारी नांहि ।। ऐसे कलि काल के अतूल प्रभाव करि पूर्ण पुरुषोत्तम फल रूप आपने सबन को भाग्य सिद्ध कियो।।²⁸

These incidents are related to the Vaisnavas by GO and it appears that they are taken down by them. Incident No. 6 in the story of Damodardāsa begins in this way.

और एक समय श्रीगोकुलनाथजी कथा कहेत हते।। ता समय भगवदी सब बैठे हते।। ता समय आप दामोदरदासजीको प्रसंग आज्ञा करिवे लगे। तांहां काहुने ऐसी कही जो आज कथा रजूही।। से तब आपने श्रीमुख नें आज्ञा करी ७ तो आज कथानांहि ।। आज कथा को फल कहेते हे।।²⁹

28. Ibid, PP.11 & 12

29. Ibid, P. 19-20. There is also a mention of GO on P.174, 242, and P.260 of this work.

So it means that the narrator of the BhS is GO, ~~although he is not the 'writer'~~ as is the case with the 84 and 252 Vārtās,

Most of the incidents, related in this work are found in the 84 Vārtās and some of them are found in the Nija-Vārtā (NV) too. But there are some, which are not found elsewhere, and hence the value of the work. For example, some ~~found~~ part of the story of the King Kṛṣṇadeva is exclusively found here. Similarly, the story of Nārāyaṇadāsa Brahmācārī is given in the BhS with more details. Again, in the story of ~~Saṅkha-Brahmacārī~~ Saṅkha-Copadā, BhS gives an incident (viz. he kept hungry throughout the day, because Cācājī did not turn up), which is not found in the 84 Vārtās.

These facts show that this work is nothing but a collection of some of the Vārtās, with some additions here and there and with their purport shown at some places. It is possible that it might have been compiled during GO's life.

(iv) Nija - Vārtā (NV) and Gharū - Vārtā (GV)³⁰

These two are the collections of incidents

30. These are published by S'rī Lallubhai C. Desai of Ahmedabad in 1979 V.S. They are also published in Mathura. Some part of Gharū-vārtā is also published in VS Vol. VI & VII

of the life of VL. These two, along with the Mahāprabhuḥikī Prākṛtya Vārtā, relate the spritual aspect of VL's life. NV generally gives the account of the meeting of VL and his disciples and illustrates his divinity. The GV relates some incidents of VL's home-life. But it is not strictly and exclusively so. Some of the incidents which are incorporated in the NV, are also found in the GV. The Ahmedabad publication gives 51 incidents of the NV and 12 of the GV. In some MSS of GV, we find some incidents of NV and vice versa. For example, the 47th and the 44th prasaṅgas found in the NV published in Ahmedabad, are given as the third and fourth prasaṅgas in the GV MS of Puṣṭimārgīya Pustakālaya³¹ of Nadiad. I have also seen one MS of NV, (in possession of S'rī K.K. Shastri) in which the number of the prasaṅgas is 24, some of which describe more than one incident.⁽³²⁾

Again, these Vārtās are not totally new and exclusively different from those of the 84 Vārtās. Most of the Vārtās are found in the 84 Vārtās, e.g. the story of Tulasāṁ which is found in the 84 Vārtās is also found in

31. Vide Vrajabhāṣā Section, No.131. It is dated 1918 V.S.

32. One MS of Kāṅkarolī (Hindi No.96/3/1) contains only 18 incidents. It is dated 1851 V.S.

the NV as well as the BhS, with a little difference in the language. Similarly, the Vārtā of Vāsudeva Chakradā is found in both the 84 vārtās (No.38) as well as in the GV (No.3 in the Ahmedabad edition). At places, the NV relates the incidents of the 84 vārtās in greater details. For example, NV No.3 tells us how Dāmodardāsa happened to see S'rī VL and became his disciple.

The author i.e. the story-teller is GO, as said in the GV. For, it begins with the words अब श्रीगोकुलनाथजी आज्ञा करत भये । - and in the NV it is said श्रीगोकुलनाथजी आप भगवदीयन तें इतनी कथा कहि विद्वाम करत भये ।³³

The words "तहां पूर्णमिल्ल कात्री खबर देवे गये। सो एक अच्युतदास माणिकपुर रहेते तिनकी वातमिं लिख्यो है,"³⁴ show that this is a later compilation, but who did it and when it was done is a moot point. The NV No.40 says that या प्रकार श्रीगोस्वामी श्रीगोकुलनाथजीने अपने सेवकन सों श्रीआचार्य महाप्रभुजी की परिक्रमा के चरित्र सुनाय कें जो या प्रसंग के चरित्र जो मेंनं कहे सो प्रथमके ३९ प्रसंगमें कों कहुं कहुं को भाग कहवे को रह्यो हतो सो तुमकुं सुनायो ।³⁵

33. Cf. NV (ed. L.C. Desai) P. 79.

34. Cf. GV (ed. L.C. Desai) P. 126.

35. Ibid P.86.

This means that it is a reproduction of what GO narrated earlier. Secondly, NV No.4 says that और हुवा सभामें नानक पंथी, दादू पंथी, निरंजनी, कबीरपंथी वगैरे सबन को निरुत्तर किये ।³⁶ and No.18³⁷

says that पाछें औरंगजेब बादशाह के समय फिर आप श्री रणछोडजी वाप्राचीनमंदिर में तें उठकें शंखोदार तीर्थ में पधारै सौ अद्यापि तहां विराजत हैं।

Similarly, NV No.21 says at the end³⁸ that

ताकी विस्तारपूर्वक वर्णन श्रीनाथजीके प्राकट्य के ग्रन्थ में है ।

Again in NV No.40, there is a mention of the work Kallola of Kalyāna Bhaṭṭa, which is said to have been written in the beginning of the 18th century (circa 1710 - 15V.S.). This shows that either the above parts of the Vārtas are later additions or hte NV took its present ~~form~~ form during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658 - 1707 A.D. I.e. 1714 - 1763 V.S.) and after S'rī Nāthajīkī Prākṛtya Vārtā was compiled.

36. Ibid, P.11.

37. Ibid, P.41,

38. Ibid, P.49.

(v) The Bethaka - Caritra (BC) ^{39(a)}

In the Sampradāya, it is traditionally said that there are 84 bethakas (seats or places) sacred to VL, ~~with~~ 28 to VT, 4 to Giridharajī, 13 to GO and 7 ~~and~~ to Harirāyajī. The BC describes the note-worthy events that took place at the different bethakas. ^{39(b)} Traditionally, it is said that the author of these BCs is GO, but there is no other authority to maintain it. At the end of the 84 and 28 Bethaka-caritras, it is noted that इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत श्री आचार्यजी महाप्रभुजीकी चौरासी बैठकन के चरित्र संपूर्ण इति श्री ~~गोकुलनाथजीकृत श्रीगुसाईजीकी २८ बैठकनके चरित्र संपूर्ण~~, but at the end of the Bethaka - caritras of Giridharajī, GO and Harirāyajī no such statements are found. It is possible that GO might have told the Vaisnavas certain incidents that took place at the different bethakas of VL and VT and later some Vaisnavas might have produced the present systematic form on the basis of those stories and also on the basis of the 84 and 252 Vārtās and the NV and still later some Vaisnavas might have added the portion about the Bethakas of Giridharajī, GO and Harirāyajī ^{39(c)}. This surmise is based on the following facts: the incident happened at the Gahvaravana

Bethaka is the same as we find in the NV No.16

39(a) It is published by S'ri L.C.Desai along with the NV and GM, in 1979 VS.

39(b) Cf. अनेक चरित्र किये यामें मुख्य हैं सोई लिखे हैं -

which is generally found at the end of each Bethaka-caritra.

39(c) ~~Bethaka~~ One MS in Kānkarolī Vidyāvibhāga (Hindi section No.91/11/5) mentions GO as the author of Harirāyajī's

(Ahmedabad edition); similarly the incident of Ayodhya - Bethake is found in the NV No. 47 and the incident at Badari \supset nārāyaṇa is found in the Vārtā of Kṛṣṇadāsa Meghana in the 84 Vārtās, and so on. The BC is surely a later compilation, but it is difficult to say when exactly it was compiled.⁴⁰

The BC is full of exaggeration and unbeliavable events and describes VL and VT as God Incarnate. For, here the rivers are deified and reported to have come to listen to the BG, although this is not against the purānic trend. It is also said that at every 'tīrtha,' The god or ^{the} goddess of the 'tīrtha' came to listen to the BG when VL read and explained it. It is said that at each of the 84 Bethakas VL read the BG for 7 days.

The BC has no historical sense; it does not give the date when VL or VT visited that particular place, nor is there any chronological order. VL toured India thrice and he visited some places in a particular

39(c) contd... Bethaks; but this is wrong, as he is later than GO.

40. The MSS of the Bethaka-Caritrās in Kāṅkaṭolī (No.91/11 G.No.95/4) mention GO. as their author.

region during the first tour, and^{others} during the second and the third. This is also not mentioned in the BC.

There is one contradiction also. In the description of the 38th Bethaka, which is at Lakṣmaṇa Bālājī in South India, it is stated that VL went with his father. Now, the NV No.1 says that his father died in 1546 V S. and after that event only VL started touring India. The contradiction can be removed, if we take it for granted that the event described took place before the death of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa and not during any of VL's three tours.

The aim of the BC is to enhance the importance of the reading of the BG, to show the importance of the 'tirthas' (places of pilgrimage) and bring home to the Vaiṣṇavas, the divinity of VL.

As regards the three works, - NV, GV, and BC, - one article in the Prācīna Vārtā Rahasya,⁴¹ states as follows:

શ્રી ગોકુલનથયજી એ વાતર્થિની ત્રણે ભાષાના ત્રણ ઐતિહાસિક ગ્રન્થો કરેલા છે અને તે નિજવાર્તા ધરુવાર્તા અને જે બેઠકચરિત્ર એ નામથી પ્રસિદ્ધ છે। જેથી આ ત્રણે ગ્રન્થ વાતર્થિની ટીકા રૂપ છે.

The footnote classifies them as under

નિજવાર્તા	-	ઇતિહાસ રૂપ
ધરુવાર્તા	-	રહસ્ય ભાષા
બેઠકચરિત્ર	-	(વિશ્લેષાતઃ) પરમતરૂપ

41. Part I, P.7 (published by Kāṅkarolī Vidyāvibhāga).

This statement and classification does not appear proper, as the contents of one work are not exclusive of the other.

(vi) S'rī Nāthajīkī Prākṛtya Vārtā

This work gives the history of the manifestation of the idol of the Lord S'rī Govardhana nāthajī and His going to Mewar. It is a collection of all material regarding the manifestation of S'rī Nāthajī, collected from different Vārtās and Vacanāmṛtas related by GO. I have seen one lithoprint edition, published by S'yama - Kasi - Press of Mathura, in the Puṣṭimārgīya Pustakālaya of Nadiad (Vraja Bhāṣā section No.57), where it is said that **सी श्री गोकुलनाथजी के वचनामृत के समूहमें उद्धार करिके तयारे लिखते हैं।** ^{42(a)} It is undoubtedly a later compilation, because, it contains an account of

42(a) Cf. Also the colophon of ~~ear~~ undated MS (Gujarati-Hindi Section No.800) of Gujarat Vidya Sabha of Ahmedabad:

इति श्रीगोकुलनाथजी के वचनामृत मेसे श्री नाथजीकी प्रागट तथा मुख चरित्र संपूर्ण ।। -

Vide also सांप्रदायिक इतिहासः वेणुनाद ग्रन्थ १-७८ पृ० १९१ :

सं० १४९६ मां श्रावण वद ३ ने दिवसे श्रीगोवर्धन पर्वतमाथी श्रीनाथजी प्रगट थया. बने गाठीली गामना मगोल गोराने आज्ञा करी के हुं महींयां छुं.

सं० १५५९ ना श्रावणसुद ३ ने दिवसे श्री आचार्यजीना सेवक पूर्णमल्ल कात्रीये निजमंदिर समायुं सं० १६३० मां श्री गुसांइजीमे शय्या मंदिर अने मणिकोठा बंधाव्या. आम श्रीगोकुलनाथजीमे श्रीमुखथी आज्ञा करी छे.

S'rī Nāthajī's going to Mewar i.e. Nāthadvārā, the present site, and that took place after GO's passing away.

In this Vārtā, there are references to historical persons, such as, Rupamañjarī and Nandāśa, Mirā and Ajabakumvarī of Mewar, and the kings of Mewar and Kishangarh, but the incidents are not chronologically related. The idol (svarūpa) of S'rī Nāthajī was taken away from Girirāja on the 15th day of the bright half of Ās'vina of 1726 V.S. and it was re-instituted in Mewar at Nāthadvārā on the 7th day of ^{the} dark half of Fālguna of 1728 V.S. This journey of long duration is described in details which are full of miraculous and mystic happenings.

(vii) S'rī Mahāprabhuṣīkī Prākṛtya Vārtā, etc. 42(b)

It contains 18 incidents with the Bhāvaprakāśa of Hariṛāyajī. It describes the birth of S'rī VL and the divine purpose of his birth and contains some of the events of his life, most of which are found in the 84 Vārtās, ^{the} NV and ^{the} GV. 42(c)

42(b) It is published by the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī.
 42(c) Vide Hariharnath Tandan: Vārtā-Sāhitya, P. 356-7; & also the undated Kāṅkarolī MS (Hindi Section No. 100/3 of the size of 12 3/4" x 7 1/2"), which contains 16 incidents and another MS (Hindi Section No. (96/3/1) which contains 18 incidents. There is also one MS (Hindi No. 137/6 size 7" x 7" in Kāṅkarolī, titled आचार्यजी महाप्रभुकी जन्मप्रसंगकी वार्ता but it is quite different from the above two MSS and contains a dialogue (P. 37 to 127) between VT & Dāmodardās & a description of Kṛṣṇa's sports in the 12 groves (kuñjas).

There are some MSS in Kāṅkarolī which contain S'rī Gosāṁijīkī and S'rī Gopīnāthajīkī NVs. MS No.100/1/1 contains a NV of S'rī VT. In it, there is a reference to the poverty of Kumbhanadāsa. At that time, S'rī VT was at Dwarka and he invited Kumbhanadāsa to join him in his journey in Gujarat. After that, there is a story about Kṛṣṇadāsa.

There is another MS (Hindi No.101/2) in Kāṅkarolī. It is dated 1862 V.S. and it belonged to Vallabhdas of Dwarka. It contains S'rī Gosāṁijīkī NV in 14 incidents (pages 432 - 447) and S'rī Gopīnāthajīkī Vārtā in 8 incidents (Pages 447 - 472). The first is quite different from that mentioned above, viz., the Vārtā given in MS No.100/1/1. It describes some of the events in the life of VT and his ~~of the events in the life~~ journey to different places in India. The purpose this NV seems to inculcate in the mind of the reader the divinity of VT. The Gopīnāthajīkī NV contains his nectar-precepts (Vacanāmṛtas). The first incident relates how a calf is animated by him. The third incident refers to a question asked by Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa to S'rī Mahāprabhuji (alias S'rī GO). This raises a question whether Gopīnāthajī is the author or narrator of all the nectar-precepts.

The author of these works is not mentioned, but these NVs are given after some of the 252 Vārtās and hence it is generally said that GO is the common



(Photo by Prof. R. H. Gandhi)

Every year Vraja-Yātrā or Vraja-84 Kosā-Parikrama starts from Mathurā on the 12th or the 13th of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada, moves from one sacred place to another & ends at Mathurā after 40 to 42 days. The above is a scene of such a Vraja-Yātrā, which made a halt at Gokul on the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Āśvin of 2017 V.S. (Dt. 31-10-1961).

author of these Vārtas.

It should be noted that^a list of the works of GO is given in the VS (Vol.VI-2-P.17) , where the Prākṛtya Vārtas of S'rī Nāthajī and S'rī Mahāprabhuji are not mentioned as GO's works. They are believed to be the works of S'rī Harirāyaji.

(viii) Vanayātrā⁴³

A small work called Vana-yātrā is said to be the work of GO. The work begins in the following way:

43. It is published in the VS (Vol. IV - Nos. 3 & 4) under the caption Vrajayātrā. I have also seen an old copy, which was given to me by S'rī Kalidās V. Shah of Nadiad, to whom I am indebted. Its size is 5" x 6½" and has 112 pages. It is published in litho-print[?] in Gujarati Script by Ramnarayan, Mathura Press, Mathura. It has got many pictures of Rāsa, temples, photos of the 'Tirthas'. The publisher has not stated anything about the MS, which formed the basis of the lithoprint. Another lithoprint of Vanayātrā is published by S'yāma Kas'i Press of Mathura in the work titled S'rī Govardhanāthajīkī Prākṛtya Vārtā. Most of the MSS ascribe the work to GO.

वनयात्रा परिक्रमा ब्रजचौरासी कोसकी प्रथम श्रीगुसांईजी
इ करी सो श्रीगोकुलनाथजी अपने सेवकन सों कहत हैं। सो संवत १६००
भाद्रपद वदी १२ को सेन आरती करिकों पाछें श्रीगुसांईजी मथुरा
पधारे ब्रजकी परिक्रमा करवे को

As in the case of the Vārtas, the work might not actually have been from the pen of GO, but he might have described the event to his followers, who might have taken down the account and might have passed it as the work of GO. Later additions are also found in the work; for example the mention of the bethakas of GO and Harirāyaji is ^{made} in the work.

The work is an account of the pilgrimage of the Vraja region ~~and~~ made by VT. At the end, a list of different Kūṇḍas, Vanas, Upavanas and the bethakas of VL and VT in the region of Vraja is given. The date of ^{the} pilgrimage as noted here is 1600 V.S. As GO's birth date is 1608 V.S., the account might have been narrated by him when he was old enough to command respect of the Vaisnavas. VT ~~went~~ ^{made} on such pilgrimage more than once. Other dates are 1624, 1628, ^{and} 1634 V.S. Vanayātrā of 1600 seems to be the first and GO might have heard the account from his father or some of his close disciples or he might have taken part in later pilgrimages and might have based his account on them.

To-day, in every rainy season, in the months of Bhādrapada and Ās'vina, pilgrimage of 84 kos'as is

undertaken by the Vaiṣṇavas, under the auspices of some Gosvāmī Mahārāja and the pattern is generally that one as described in the Vanyātrā. VL travelled in the Vraja three times and showed the religious importance of the places where Lord Kṛṣṇa had sported. Later VT consolidated a pattern which we find in the Vanayātrā. Of course, it must be noted that to-day the Vrajayātrā continues for nearly 40 days, while in the days of VT, it was finished within 20 days nearly. The form of Vanayātrā determined by VT was shorter than that followed in our times. During the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, it was not possible to perform religious practices on a popular scale and hence the Vrajayātrā was discontinued during his rule. It was Purusottamajī of Mathura (1805 V.S.) who re-started the Vrajayātrā and that too, on a larger scale and for a longer period, i.e. 50 days nearly. Later, the period was reduced to 40 days nearly by Gopālālalajī.⁴⁴

This work mentions the different stepped banks (ghātas) of Yamunā and other 'tīrthas' at Mathurā and of Vraja, describes different Kundas (stepped wells) and Vanas, (Sacred places in the forest of the region of Vraja) e.g. Madhuvana, Tālavana, etc., where S'rī Kṛṣṇa

44. Vide VS Vol. 7 No.3-4, P.1-2.

played and killed the demons and performed different sports with the cowherds and His consort Rādhā. It also shows the importance of the *Leṭhakas* of VL and VT and others and the places of mystic happenings in the lives of some of the 84 and 252 Vaisnavas.

The following paragraphs will give an idea of the work:

आगे मोहन कुंड है तहां श्री ठाकुरजीकी छवि देखिकें
ब्रजभक्तन मोहित भये हैं देह दशा रही नहीं व्याकुल भये पाछें
श्रीठाकुरजीने वेणुनाद कियो है तब सवनको सुझा भई है ता दिन
ते ब्रजभक्तनने श्रीठाकुरजीको मोहन नाम धर्यो है तहां रास किये है...⁴⁵

x x x

यह कौहुवन की लीला है ताके आगे क्षीरसागर शेषाशाई
है तहां ब्रजभक्तनने श्रीठाकुरजीसीं कल्यो जो क्षीर सागर में श्री
लक्ष्मीनारायण कौन प्रकार विलास करत है सो हमकों दिखावो तब
श्री बलदेवजी तो शेष रूप भये तिनकी सिज्या उपर आप चतुर्भुज
स्वरूप धरि कें शंख चक्र वदा पद्म लेके पौढे नाभी कमल में ते ब्रह्मा
सहित दिखाये तब देवता सब आनंद सहित स्तुति करत लगे फूलन
को वर्षा करी है.....⁴⁶

x x x

45. P.42-43 in the edition mentioned in footnote No.43.

46. Ibid P.60-62.

मैं जो डूबत हों ताकी कोई चिंता नहीं परंतु बालककी कोई रक्षा करो तब श्री ठाकुरजी के चरण परसिकें श्री यमुनाजीने मार्ग दियो तातें कोसला गाम भयो ताके पास बल्ब घाट है तहां श्री गोकुलनाथजी नित्य संध्यावंदन करते ताके पास मांघीपुरा गांव है..... कन्या कूं मथुरा ले गये है.....⁴⁷

The work has no philosophical importance. It is useful for those who have deep faith in such pilgrimages and it has, thus some religious importance. It has some historical importance too. It is said that the Vrajayātrās were first started by S'rīla Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī, a follower of Madhvācārya, who came to Vraja in 1602 V.S. and wrote Vrajabhakti-Vilāsa in 1609 V.S. This work sets aside the claim of S'rīla Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa to be the starter of Vrajayātrā, for VṬ had made the Vraja (na)Yātrā in 1600 V.S. It is also said that VL was the first to go round the sacred places of Vraja in 1649 and then in 1555 V.S. That Yātrā was of a short duration, nearly seven days.⁴⁸

(ix) Estimate of the Vartā Sāhitya

The subject of the 84 and ^{He}252 Vartās is the incidents that took place in the lives of the

47. Ibid - P. 103.

48. Cf. The article named Vrajayātrā by S'rī Dvārkaḍāsa Parikh, published in VS Vol. IV - 1, P.17.

disciples of VL and VT, and that of NV etc. is the events of the lives of VL and VT. They do not give all the details about their lives, but give only those events which are connected with initiation of the Vaiṣṇavas into the Puṣṭimārga and which deal with their spiritual experiences.

Harirāyaji has written Bhāva-Prakāśa, (as stated above) a ṭippani with certain additional incidents, on the 84 and ^{the} 252 Vārtās, and has shown the true spirit (bhava as the title suggests) of these Vārtās. He has also shown the original Śvarūpa of each of the Vaiṣṇavas, which he had in the Nikuñja of Lord Kṛṣṇa. To a layman, it would all appear senseless and bogus, but to a Puṣṭimārgīya, it has all reality about it. The Bhāva-Prakāśa is popularly known as वण वन्मनीवार्ता, because it shows the original form, then physical birth in this world and the new birth after the Brahmasambandha.

The Vārtās became very popular and therefore Ś'rī Nātha Bhaṭṭa (circa 1724 V.S.) thought it an honour to render them into Saṁskṛta. It is known as (Saṁskṛta) Vārtā-Mani Mālā and contains 3707 stanzas. Its MS. is preserved in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī. A small part of it is published in the Prācina Vārtā Rahasya published by the same institution.

...333...

The Vārtā Sāhitya is very important from various points of views. Although it lacks historical sense,⁴⁹ - as its aim is not to provide historical facts, - we are able to gather certain historical material and that too particularly for the history of Hindi Literature and of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga. It furnishes biographical material for the lives of VL, VT and great poets like Sūradāsa, Parmānandadāsa,

49. Vārtā No.96 (in 252 Vārtās) of Rendā of Kapadavanj reports that when GO went to Kapadavanj, Rendā requested him to 'give' 'nāma - nivedana' to his wife and son. GO granted his request~~s~~ and initiated them into ^{the} Puṣṭimārga. After this incident, Rendā went to Gokul and met VT. Now this is historically wrong, for GO visited Gujarat in 1646 - 47 V.S. and VT passed away in 1642, V.S. NV gives certain dates, but their authenticity is not always beyond doubt. For example, it is said that VL's father died in 1546 V.S. (NV No.1) and VL started touring India in 1548 V.S. and he got the divine mandate in 1549 V S. The ³¹⁵ ~~33~~ mentions S'rī VL and Akbar as contemporaries, which contradicts historical facts.

Nandadāsa and others; and they also throw light on their works. The Vārtā Sāhitya also makes mention of a number of minor poets, hardly mentioned anywhere but who have enriched the Bhakti - literature in Hindi. It contains a number of padas, of different devout poets, which are not available elsewhere.⁵⁰ No literary historian can afford to ignore this literature produced by GO.

It gives some information about Todarmal Birbal, Akbar, Tāja-bibi⁵¹ and Bhajadeva of Puri⁵²

50. Vārtā 233 says that Kṛṣṇadāsa Jādā has written Indra-kopa, Rāsa-pañcādyajī and Rukminī - maṅgal. Similarly, several disciples such as Kataharia (235), Rādhodāsa (234), Yādavendra (240), Sagunadāsa (242), Vṛndāvana (240), Brahma-dāsa (236), Prthvīsimha (238) Tulsidāsa (239), Caturabihāri (248), Ramarāya Hita Bhagavāna (252) and others, who are hardly known, have written several padas.

51. Cf. Bhāva Sindhu (ed. Lallubhai C. Desai) P. 289 and also the 252 Vārtās.

52. NV No.16 (ed. Lallubhai C. Desai).

and others. The NV⁵³ gives the following ~~xxxx~~ information:

(1) Kesava Bhaṭṭa Kāshmirī was the follower of Nimbarka's Sect and he had written Krama - dīpikā and other works. (No.28, P.63).

(2) Madhusūdana Sarasvatī showed his work, named Bhaktirahasya to VL. (NO.29 P.64) and he taught VT (NO.36 P.85).

(3) At Kās'i, Dinakara Bhaṭṭa, Lakṣmana Bhaṭṭa, Nityānanda, Candra S'ekhara Nīlakantha, Upendra S'armā, Prakāś'ānanda Sarasvatī came to VT for discussion. (No. 33, P.67-68).

(4) VL did not write a commentary on Gītā because he believed that it was simple and all speeches (totalling 574) of Lord Kṛṣṇa are to be taken as authority. (No.36, P.75).

(5) The GV No.10 tells us why VL took to a renunciation and that he passed away on the third day of Āśāḍha of 1587 V.S., after teaching the Sikṣā - S'lokaś to his sons and followers. (P.121-23).

(6) VL married at the instance of Pāṇḍurāṅga Viṭṭalanātha (NV No.28 and BC No.35).

But it should also be remembered that there are exaggerated and contradictory accounts also.

For example, in the BC No.33, it is said that Mādhavānanda and Mukundadāsa came to Campāranya from Kās'ī and Puṣkara respectively within six days and on No.60 says that rain did not fall/the disciples of VL. At places, there are contradictions also. For example, in NV No.11, it is said that VL took seven gold-coins out of the presents given by the king Kṛṣṇadeva and got anklets prepared for Lord S'rī Nāthajī, and NV No.28 says that the seven gold-coins were used for the anklets of Viṭṭhalanāthajī of Pandharapura.⁵⁴

The Vārtā Sāhitya gives us a lot of social, political and geographical data.⁵⁵ It gives information about the mode of worship, and religious terminology (e.g. बंटा, बीडा, मनसखडी, पूठन, बुहारि) used in the Puṣṭimārgīya temples. It tells us about the dresses and clothes, utensils, political divisions, architecture, sculpture and their plans,⁵⁶ commerce and currency,

54. Cf. NV P. 27 and 61

55. For details see H. Tandan's Vārtā Sāhitya P.488 - 534 and 252 Vārtās Part III (ed. Dvarkadas Parikh).

56. Cf. Mention of the Māna - citra in the Vārtā No.24 of Purnamalla Kṣatri, P. 276 (ed. D. Parikh).

means of transport (horse, chariot, elephant, bullock-cart, *ṭālākī*, boat etc.), flora and fauna, ways of entertainment, such as music, dance, magic, and listening to the *kathās*. It was an age of peace and plenty. The cost of living was very low. We find in the story of Santadāsa (both in the BḥS and the 84 Vārtās and also Vārtās No.67 in ^{the} 252 Vārtās), that he was able to maintain himself with 1½ pice a day.^{57(a)} About the fineness of cloth, it is said that Nārāyaṇadāsa^{57(b)} used to present VT such cloth as was seen with difficulty and which dried up within a few seconds.

There are many idols worshipped in the different puṣṭimārgīya temples at different places in India. From these vārtās, we gather their history, particularly about the *nidhi-svarūpas*.^{(57 (c))}

Some miracles, too, are found in this literature. For example, in Vārtā No.103 of the 252 Vārtās, it is stated that the head cut off from the trunk was joined to the trunk again by the sacred offered food

57(a) Cf. also Vincent Smith's 'Akbar the Great Mogul' (ed. 1919 A.D.) P.391, where it is stated that one rupee bought 194.25 Lbs. of wheat.

57 (b) Cf. ^{the} 252 Vārtās: No.5.

57(c) Vide ^{the} 252 Vārtās Part III (ed. D. Parikh).

(mahāprasāda); in the Vārtā No.106, it is stated that the Vrajavāsī returned from Surat to Gopālpur within two days,. I think that such incidents are narrated to inculcate in the mind of the reader the importance of bhakti, 'prasāda', faith, etc. They are not to be taken as literally true.

The Vārtā Sāhitya provides an example of the earliest Vrajabhāṣā prose. No one can deny the fact that the Gosvāmīs have become instrumental in the development of Vrajabhāṣā prose and poetry. The language in the Vārtās is generally what GO spoke. The difference of spelling and absence of right punctuation in different versions is on account of the scribes who belonged to different regions and who were not scrupulous enough to maintain the purity of language. They cared more for the matter and its purport rather than its language. They were not also careful in copying down the Vārtās. Hence we find the forms कह्यो, कह्यी and कह्यी, के and कै, बैठे and बैठे, हुती and हती करके and करि के, पहुँचि and पहुँचि and पोहोंचि, दिवायो and दिवायी, फुरी and स्फुरी, समे and समय, कहत and कहत, देखियत and देखत etc.

etc. Another thing is also to be noted. It was the age of the growth of the language and as such, it was natural to have various forms and spellings of the same words. Even then, the language

is full of both grace and simplicity. The sentences are short and words simple, The purport is easily brought home to the listener. The following lines are a fitting tribute to the language of these Vārtās: -

"जो यो इन पुस्तकों की भाषा बहुत व्यवस्थित है। यद्यपि इसमें लम्बे और जटिलवाक्य गठनका प्रयत्न नहीं है, तथा उनसे प्रतिपादित विषयका अच्छा स्पष्टीकरण हुआ है। छोटे छोटे वाक्यों से चरित-नायकों का चरित्र ऐसी स्पष्टतासे चित्रित हुआ है मानो निपुण कलाकारने हुत्की तूलिकासे बहुत मामूली रंगों के सहारे चित्रों को सजीव बना दिया हो।" ⁵⁸

"इनके गद्यमें व्यक्तित्वकी छाप है, तथा सजीवता, स्वभाविकता आडम्बरशून्यता और माधुर्य आदि गुण हैं।" ^{58(a)}

But all this is of secondary importance. The principal purpose of these Vārtās is religious. GO knew well that the dry S'astric teaching does not make an appeal to the masses, who are not literate and intelligent enough to understand the niceties of the philosophical and religious doctrines. Again, Samskr̥ta Language was the language of a few Pandits. So he thought it wise to preach in the popular tongue of the region, Viz., Vījabhāṣā. He narrated the incidents

58. Hazariprasād Dwivedi: Hindi Sāhitya; quoted in Hariharnath Tandan's Vārtā Sāhitya P.230.

58(a) Ganesh Vihari Mishra Etc. Mistra - bandhu - Minod : P.249.

that had happened in the lives of his predecessors and the great Vaiṣṇavas, so that the listeners could understand and appreciate the doctrines of the Puṣṭimārga. For example, ananyās'raya (i.e. seeking refuge in God Kṛṣṇa alone) is one of the main principles of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga. He brought home this principle by narrating the story of a brahmin woman, who was helped by some officer and who hence, said that she was ^{saved} by him. The Lord was, therefore, displeased with her.⁵⁹ This incident would appeal more than the verse अविश्वासो न कर्तव्यः सर्वथा स्वाधकस्तु सः।⁶⁰ The Vaiṣṇava has to bear well in mind the doctrines of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga that Lord's happiness is to be attended to always and He is not to be requested to take pains on our behalf and that unoffered (asamarpita) food is to be avoided and that the 'bhagavadiyas' are to be treated as equal to the Lord. To teach these doctrines, several instances are given in these Vārtās.⁶¹ Tradition ~~to~~ plays an important role

59. Cf. तब वा बाईनी वा साक्तसों कह्यो जो पूत! तै मो कों जिवाई।

....तब वा के घर तैं श्री ठाकुरजी श्रीगुसांईजी के घर पधरें । -

252 Vārtās No. 38) P. 318 (ed. D. Parikh)

60. Vl. Vivekadhairyās'raya, St. 15.

61. Vide, for example, the story of Vāghājī Rājapūta: Bhāva - Sindhu (ed. Lallubhai Desai) P. 217. Also see the 84 Vārtās (ed. D. Parikh) P. 5 (Bhāva Prakāś'a) : भाव

कथाको फल कहत है। वैष्णवन की वार्ता में सगरी फल जानियो। वैष्णव उपरांत और कुछ पदारथ नसही हैं।

in any religion and society and these vārtās lay down certain traditions and practices, of ^{the} Puṣṭimārga, which are even followed to-day. In short, the Vārtā Sāhitya is the code-book of the Puṣṭimārgiya conduct and explains its doctrines with examples in simple language.

The Vārtās teach that unalloyed and disinterested love (S'uddha sneha bhāva) is the true spirit of Sevā. They teach us how to perform Lord's Sevā and how to adjust one-self in the day-to-day affairs of the world. Priorities are to be fixed in this way: Sevā, Vaidic Kriyā and then worldly duties. Company of the Vaiṣṇavas (satsaṅga) is to be always sought and Kṛṣṇa-līlā is to be understood from them.⁶² So, the reading of the Vārtās results into the fixity (dr̥ḍhata) of spirituality, strengthening of religious attitude and faith⁶³ and producing deep disinterested love for the Lord. The practical side of the Puṣṭimārga, the Sevāmārga and its true spirit (marma) are well presented in this literature. The ultimate aim or the

62. Cf. ये ठाकुर तो तब ही जाने जाय जब भगवद्भक्तको संग करे। सेवाको प्रकार एतन्मार्गीय वैष्णव जानस हैं। तिनसों मिलि भाव पूछि के सेवा करनी। तब भगवद्भाव ~~सम्भू~~ उत्पन्न होई। श्री ठाकुरजीकी लीलाको सब भेद जाने । -

- 84 Vārtās (ed. D. Parikh 2010 V.S.) P.39.

63. Cf. श्रद्धावान् लभते नरः।

salvation according to the Pustimarga is to witness the Kṛṣṇalīlā and to be a partner in it and this is indicated at several places.⁶⁴

In India, ^{the} guru is valued by the disciples more than the Lord.⁶⁵ The Vārtā-Sāhitya shows the importance and greatness of the guru VL.⁶⁶ and his son VT. It bears out the supernatural and superhuman character and mystic powers and divine nature of VL and VT and their love for their disciples (bhakta - vatsalata), and thus it becomes instrumental in creating in the hearts of the disciples true devotion and sense of reverence for them (VL and VT). VL's divinity and his capacity as a saviour are particularly emphasised in the NV⁶⁷ and the BC.

64. Vide BC No. 33 and 60 etd. (ed. Lallubhai C. Desai)

65. Cf. गुरुगोविंद ठाढ़े रहे, किन की लागूं पाय। बलिहारी गुरु
आपकी जिन गोविंद दीनो बताय ॥ - कबीर Also read:
हमतो आप के हाथ बिकाने हैं। हम कीं तो श्रीरनछोड़की आप बताए
हो। तब हम श्रीरनछोड़की को जाने हैं । -

says Nāgajī Bhaṭṭa to VT. - 252 Vārtās (ed. D. Parikh)
Vol. I P.18-19.

66. Cf. NV (ed. Lallubhai Desai) Prasaṅga 11.

67. For example, see NV No.47 - P. 99, where Rāma says to Hanuman that VL can assume his (Rāma's) form, but he (Rāma) cannot assume the form of S'rī VL.

It should be noted ~~here~~ that the excess of Guru -
Māhātmya (greatness), shown at some places, has
 resulted in the degradation of the sect; for the
 later Gosvāmīs were looked upon as divine beings
 par excellence. Of course, GO has rung a warning
 bell against this, in the comm on अस्मत्कुलं निष्कलं कुरु
 and स्वयंसेवकं स्थापितं शेषं स्वमात्रं ॥⁶⁸

The Puṣṭimārga is based on the doctrine
 of grace, (found in the Kāṭha - Upaniṣad,⁶⁹) and
 considers the Sādhana-mārga subservient to it. Knowledge
 of the scriptures is not absolutely necessary for
 realisation. God manifests Himself to those souls,
 whom he considers His own, irrespective of their
 merit or demerit. This prameya-bala of the Lord is
 amply exemplified in these Vārtās.

Some of the important teachings of the Vārtās
 are as follows: -

The story of	Number of the story	Lesson
1) Gajjana Dhāvana	13 in 84 Vārtās	The state of 'vyasana' is the best

68. Vide Chapter III (a) (ii): Comm on ४ Asmat
 Kulani" and the SS.

69. येमेवैषा वृणुते तेन स लभ्यः । - Kāṭha U-I - 2-23.

...344...

- (2) Mādhava Bhaṭṭa 27 in ^{the} 84 Vārtas Secrecy of the
Kāshmirī Māhātmya is to be
maintained and
mercy must be shown
towards all.
- (3) Amma Kṣatrāṇī 12 " " Vaiṣṇavas should
not feel distressed
& all misery is to
be looked upon as
God's sport.
- (4) Dāmodardās 3 " " No shame is to be
(Also Vārtas No. 59, 205, ~
231 in ^{the} 252 Vārtas) experienced in
doing Śevā and
anyās'raya should
be avoided.
- (5) Kṛṣṇadās Meṭhan 2 in ^{the} 84 Vārtas The guru is great,
spirit of ananyā-
s'arana be kept
alive.
- (6) Govinddās Bhaṭṭa 11 " " Avoid egotism in doing
Śevā. Observe humility.
- (7) Rājo Kṣatrāṇī 5 " " Things to be offered
& Rūpā Poriā 116 ^{the} 252 " } to the Lord should
not be used for any
other purpose.
- (8) Kṣatrāṇī of 60 ^{the} 84 " For Śevā, no money
Simhanada is to be borrowed.

...345...

- (9) Gopaldas 6/2 in ^{the} 84 Vārtās Importance of the
Kīrtan is shown.
- (10) Tulasāṁ 4/1 " " " } Importance of
and wife-husband in 143 " ^{the} 252 " } Mahāprasāda is
shown.
- (11) Candābāi BhS P.231 Idol of God is to
be looked upon as
God Himself.
- (12) Vāghāji BhS P.217 Lord's happiness
is to be minded
first of all and no
rules and regulat-
ions deter a true
devotee and lover.
- (13) Gharū Vārtā No.4 (P.113) } All miseries are to
& No. 149 of the 252 Vārtās } be undergone with
patience:
- (14) A Vrajavāsī etc. 63 & 154 in the
252 Vārtās Importance of a
Vaiṣṇava's dress &
greatness of S'rī
VT are shown.
- (15) A poor brahmin 161 in ^{the} 252 Vārtās Greatness of
Girirāja is
pointed out.
- (16) Puruṣottama 49 " " Difference between the
Puṣṭimārga and the
Māyādāmārga is
shown.

- (17) Raja Ās'a karan Example of
and Brahmadas 123 & 236 in the Mānasībhakti
252 Vārtās are given.

In addition to this, general principles of religion and ethics such as truth, abandonment of greed, contentment, benevolence, non-violence, hospitality, faith, self-denial, mercy towards all creatures and characteristics of the Puṣṭimārga such as samarpaṇa - bhāva, modes of sevā, the true svarūpa of S'rī Kṛṣṇa, VL and S'rī VT etc. are emphasised in different Vārtās.

Severe criticism is levelled against the Puṣṭimārga that it leads to inactivity, that it is immoral and has physical enjoyments as its chief aim. But it is not proper. It does lay stress on simplicity and renunciation (vairāgya). These Vārtās offer several instances which offer an answer to such criticism. Many stories show that moral conduct in day-to-day affairs is emphasized. The story of Santadas⁷⁰ shows how simply he lived and kept away from amassing wealth. The story of Kṛṣṇadās⁷¹ (wife and husband) is not to be looked upon as an example of debauchery or nuptial faithlessness or unsocial sexual relations.

70. Cf. BHS (ed. Lallubhai Desai) P. 163

71. No.75 in 84 Vārtās (ed. D. Parikh)

Its intention is to teach the importance of 'ātithya - dharma' and of a Vaiṣṇava. The purpose of the Vartā is to be noted here and not the actual event. Otherwise, the story of Vis'vāmītra would be looked upon as teaching us a great deal ^{of} immorality. For example, once he snatched away dog's flesh from a 'cāṇḍāla', but this incident does not imply that eating of flesh is morally and religiously allowed. It only shows how a hunger-stricken man, however, great he may be, acts. (*बुद्धिस्तः किं न करोति पापम्*). In this spirit, the Vartās are to be understood.

The Vartā Sāhitya shows that VL and VT initiated people, irrespective of their caste or creed⁷², and showed them the path of devotion. In the horrible frustrating ^{times} in the beginning of the Mughal rule, when life was uncertain and people experienced a pervading sense of despair and dejection, VL and VT gave them a purpose of life, taught them that true devotion alone pleases the Lord, and that S'astric ceremonies and wealthy rituals are of no avail, when Kāla and Des'a are polluted.⁷³ Low

72. Cf. 252 Vartās (ed. D. Parikh) No.124, No.136 and No.167; the persons referred to in them are a shoe-maker, a fisherman and a sweeper respectively.

73. Cf. VL's Kṛṣṇas'raya.

74. Cf. ~~स्वामीयुक्तिसमः ।~~ SS St. 9.

caste people like potters and sweepers and even Muslims were accepted in the creed.⁷⁴ The Vārtā literature is an irrefutable evidence of the above statement. Had not GO collected and related these stories to his disciples, the treasure might have been perhaps lost and later generation would not have been able to have before them the exemplary behaviour of a Vaiṣṇava. GO has, thus, rendered a valuable service to the cause of the Puṣṭimārga.

With the passage of time, the Vārtās became so popular that they took the place of the works of VL and VT. To-day, the Vārtās are more read than the Subodhinī, the Nibandha and the Sixteen Treatises. The popular tongue in which the Vārtās are written is also responsible, to a certain extent, for this state of affair. However, one has to make a sad observation that the works of VL and VT are neglected by the Vaiṣṇavas.

(X) References to other works not available now:

It appears that some more works of this type might have been composed or compiled by GO. In

74. Cf. स्त्रीशूद्राद्युदितकामः। ss - St. 9.

an issue of ^{the}VS⁷⁵, it is noted that a MS of Dvārkādhīs'ani Prākṛtya Vārtā,⁷⁶ dated 1878 V.S., is available in Amreli (Saurashtra), which says that it is narrated by GO and the listener is Harirāyaji. As the title suggests, it must be on account of how the idol of S'rī Dvārkādhīsaji came to manifestation. I have not been able to track the MS.

In the same issue of the periodical, there is a mention of ~~the~~ a work named भगवदीन को पूरव जन्म । It appears to be incomplete. A few lines will give an idea about it : -

अथ भगवदीन को पूरव जन्म लिख्य ते। श्री गोकुलनाथजी
शृंगार समे (के) जन्म ग्रन्थ में लिख्यो सो भाषा में कह्यो है।
कृष्णदास मेघन सो अर्जुन सत्ता को अवतार ।..... दामोदरदास
संभलवाले तिनके स माथे श्री द्वारकानाथजी बिराजते हैं सो
राजा अंबरीषा को अवतार। etc.

75. Vide VS Vol. VI - 3 - P.23 ed. by D. Parikh

76. There is another work of the same title, published by the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī. The writer of that work is stated to be Vrajabhushanji (Birth : 1765 V.S.) It deals with the history of the idol of Dvārkādhīsaji.

The colophon reads:

इति श्रीनाथजी के प्राकट्यकी स्या अष्टपदी स्या
श्री पुरुषोत्तम सहस्रनाम ^{तथा} जेन ग्रन्थ सताईस तथा भगवदीन की पूर्व
जनम तथा धवल संपूर्ण संवत् १८७१ मीती आश्विन दूसरी कृष्ण...
शुभं भवतु ।

It means, therefore, that the MS of 144 pages, as referred to in the issue, contains several works, among which one is the भगवदीन की पूरव जन्म ।

It is stated in the work in question, that it is the translation in Vrajabhāṣā of a work of GO. named गुंगार समे के जन्म ग्रन्थ । In the ~~absence~~ absence of any other reference anywhere else, it is not possible to say anything about it. One thing is clear that the original work was in Samskr̥ta and the work in question was its translation. We know that Harirāyaji has written Bhāva-Prakāś'a on the 84 and 252 Vārtās, in which he has mentioned the original forms, in the 'nikuñja,' of the Vaiṣṇavas. Can we surmise that Harirāyaji might have taken clues from such a work of GO? Of course, it should be noted that there is a difference between this work and the Bhāva-Prakāś'a as regards the mention of the previous births or forms.

(xi) The Vallabha Kalpa Druma

A work in Gujarati, named S'rī Vallabha - Kalpa-

-Drūma⁷⁷ has come to my notice. It is the translation of the Samskr̥ta work by Pandit Saryūdāsajī, son of Pandit Gopīnāthajī. It is written in the beginning of the 20th century (circa 1920 V.S.) as noted by the translator, whereas S'rī K.K. Shastri has said in the preface that it is written in the 17th century; but it cannot be earlier than 18th century, as Harirāyajī (1647 - 1772 V.S.) is mentioned in it.

It is written in the puranic style. It can rightly be said the Vallabha Purana after the style of S'iva Purana or Visnu Purana. It is in the form of a dialogue between GO and the Vaisnavas. It deals with the life and deeds of VL and his family, and his descendents. The following lines⁷⁸ will give an idea of the contents of the work : -

एक दिवसे सेवाकार्यमांधी परवारी विश्रान्तिना समयमां
कृपानिधान श्रीमद्विट्ठलनाथजीना सर्वव्यवहार कार्यभारने वहन करनार
तेमना सुखसीभाग्यने भोगवनार श्रीगोकुलेशप्रभु पीताना भवनना
विश्रान्तिस्थानमां विराजता हता... ते समये गौवर्धनधरण जेमने
यणा वहाला छे एवा ते भगवदीयो श्रीगोकुलेशप्रभुने पूछ्वा लाग्या
: - ३ - ४

77. It is published by Suddhādvaita Samsad in 1950 A.D. It is mentioned here because it is based on GO's works.

78. Ibid, P.15-16.

वैष्णवी बोल्या : हे सर्वज्ञ, हे कृपानाथ, निज
भक्तिमार्ग प्रवर्तविनार हे गोकुलेश ! पूर्ण पुरुषोत्तम श्रमिदाचार्यवर्य
श्री वल्लभाधीश चरणानुं प्राकट्य क्यारे थयुं ? भगवदीयोना
चरित्रानुं पण वर्णन करी - ५- १०

The whole work (of nearly 750 pages) is written in such a style. The contents of the work are drawn from the Vārtā, Sāhitya. The work is written it appears, to enhance the greatness of GO, in as much as he is given the position of a Narrator (Vyās) in this Purana - style work.

(xii) Agan unpublished work: A dialogue between S'rī VT and Dāmodardās:

There is a MS in Kāṅkarolī (Hindi Section No.92/4/1, pages 11 to 71), which is titled श्री गुसाईंजी और दामोदरदासजी को संवाद । 77
The colophon reads as follows:

ताते तुमने पुछी सो प्रकार कहे ॥ श्री श्री इति श्री
महाप्रभुजीको प्राकट्य लीला । श्री गुसाईंजी अरु दामोदरदास
को संवाद संपूर्ण ॥

79. There is also other MSS (Hindi No.137/6 and No.96/4) in Kāṅkarolī, which is titled आचार्यजी महाप्रभु की जन्मप्रसंगकी वार्ता but it contains some incidents of ^{the} 84 Vārtās and also a dialogue between VT and Damodardas. It is different from this work. The author is not mentioned. The colophon reads:
इति श्री गुसाईंजी को और दामोदरदास हरसानी को संवाद संपूर्ण।
As far as I know, it is not published.

It contains information about Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa and relates the true purpose of the birth of VL. There is a story about the curse given pronounced on Indra by the Highest Consort of the Lord. It tells us also about the svarūpa of Dāmodardāsa.

In the beginning, it states that -

सोजितनी बात दामोदरदासजी ने कही सी श्री गुसाइजी
ने संस्कृतमें करी एक ग्रन्थ कीनी है सी : श्री गोकुलनाथजी के पास
ताको विस्तार या ग्रन्थ विशेष है।
हती ॥ (This statement tells us about a Samskrta
work by VT. It is doubtful whether the work in
question is the expansion of that work and
whether it is done by GO.

Chapter III (c)

The Bhāvanā Sāhitya

(i) What is Bhāvanā Sāhitya?¹

GO preached more of the practical side of religion than its theoritical side. Practice of religion involves certain actions or rituals (Kriyās) to be done by a devotee. The doctrine of ^{performance}Sevā ^(worship) involves such actions and also use of certain things, each of which has some esoteric meaning. If the religious actions are not properly done and if their purport or esoteric meaning is not understood, they are reduced to meaningless, burdensome and fruitless ceremonies.² GO, therefore, used to explain the esoteric meaning, i.e. the bhāva and the rahasya of each and every action and also the various things used in and for the Lord's worship. Collections and compilations of such esoteric explanations are known as Bhāvanās. He was the first to produce such

1. The Bhāvanā Sāhitya is in a way a part of the Vacanāmṛta literature, but because it has a distinct subject, it is treated in a separate chapter.

2. Cf. स्थाणुरयं भारद्वाजः किलाभूत्, अधीत्य वेदं न विद्वानाति योऽर्थम् ।—~~Quoted~~ by Yaska in Nirukta in Chapter I - 18-P.108 (Anandās'rama edition).

Bhāvanās, although later Gosvāmīs, such as Harirāyaji, Dvārakes'aji and others have also written such Bhāvanās. The following Bhāvanās are ascribed to GO :

- (1) Rahasya Bhāvanā (RBh) (2) BhāvaBhāvanā
 - (3) Sevā Bhāvanā (4) Līlā Bhāvanā
 - (5) Svarūpa Bhāvanā (6) Utsava Bhāvanā (UBh)
 - (7) Śāḍartū Bhāvanā or Khat - Rtu - Vārtā
 - (8) Grahana Bhāvanā
 - (9) Svāmījī ke Carana-cihna kī Bhāvanā
 - (10) S'rī Ācāryaji Tathā S'rī Gusāmījī ke Svarūpa
ko Vicāra
- (ii) Rahasya Bhāvanā, Utsava Bhāvanā, etc.

RBh treats of the subject of Bhagavat-Sevā & its various rituals with the significance attached to each of the actions and things used while worshipping the Lord: e.g. निजमंदिर की भावना, घंटानादकी भावना, शंखनाद की भावना, शय्या के तकिया आदि की भावना, झारी की भाव, मंगलाआरती की भावना, शृंगारकी भावना, तिलक की भावना, कुंडल की भावना, खुरेरा को भाव, खिलीना की भाव, गेंद की भावना, दर्पण की भावना, शतरंज की भाव, वैष्णवन को प्रसाद लिवायवे की भावना, etc. etc.

It also enjoins the Vaisṇavas to do sevā-smarana etc. right from daydawn and also emphasizes the importance of purity and cleanliness to be observed while doing sevā & how one should be pure before entering the nija-mandira

(Lord's temple).

The following passages will give an idea of the subject - matter :

(४) मंदिर के किंवार की भावना - मंदिर के दो किंवार श्री स्वामिनीजी के दो नेत्रन के पलक हैं। श्री स्वामिनीजी पलकें खोले हैं तब श्री ठाकुरजी की झांकी होय है।

(५) निजमंदिर की भावना - मंदिर अक्षर ब्रह्म है, माहात्म्य में । बाल लीला में श्री नंदालय, रहस्य निकुंज भावना में श्री स्वामिनीजी की निकुंज है, वृंदावन में तहां श्री ठाकुरजी युगल स्वरूप सहित पीढे हैं। अथवा श्री आचार्यजी और सब भक्तन के हृदय हैं, तहां श्री प्रभुजी (नमामि हृदये शेषी या प्रकार) होय के सदा विराजमान हैं, अनेक स्वामिनी सहित यह भाव विचारनी ।³

3. Cf. VS Vol. XI - Nos. 1-2, P.4.

The RBh is published in the above issue of the VS. I have also seen another RBh published by S'rī Kālūrāma Mukhiyā and S'rī H.H. Thakkar of Jāmakhambhālīā in 1983 V.S. Both treat^{of} the same subject, but there is some difference in the language here and there. At places the former has some more details, at places the latter has some more details. For example, in घंटनादकी भावना the latter has given in full details the तमचर प्रसंग.

I have also seen a note-book manuscript, dated 13.3.1947, in S'rī Kanaiyāprabhu Pustakālaya of Modasa. It contains Sevā-Vidhi and Rahasya Bhāvanā. This RBh treats of many more subjects than those treated in the above, e.g. चरणचिह्न की भावना, जप करिवेकी भावना, गिरिराज की भावना etc. I think, the scribe has taken down many topics from different works.

(१५) टेराकी भावना - टेरा है सो माया रूप है।

एक अविधारूप एक विधारूप। अविधारूप माया धर्म में मन लगावे नहीं दे। दूसरी विधारूप भगवत्सेवा स्वरूप है। सामग्री धरते समय जो टेरा करत हैं सो विधारूप माया है। सामग्री स्वरूपात्मक हैं। और वा को भोग भगवान करत हैं। भोग एकान्त बिना होय नहीं ताते टेरा आवत हैं। सो माया रूपी टेरा तें भक्त जननकी मनोरथ सिद्ध होय है।

वात्सल्य भाव तें टेरा करिवे तें कोई की दृष्टि लगे नहीं। कुमारिका के भाव में श्री स्वामिनीजी पधारे हैं उनके साथ श्री ठाकुरजी की बाल भाव तें श्री यशोदाजी बैठादि के मंगल भोग धरे हैं वा समय रहस्य लीला की गुप्त रख वे के लिए माया रूप टेरा आवे है। या भावना तें मंगल भोग धरनी।⁴

X

X

X

(५६) आरती की भावना - सो सब ब्रजभक्तन की हृदय के तापकी न्योछावर करत हैं। फिर दर्पण देखें। सो श्री स्वामिनीजी अपने हृदय रूप दर्पणमें श्री ठाकुरजी की लेके निकुंजमें पधारे हैं। अथवा निकुंज की सूचना करे हैं।⁵

It appears on comparison of various publications & the MSS of RBh, that it includes many more subjects than those included in the one published in the Vallabhiyasudhā (VS) (Vol. XI - Nos. 1-2).

4. VS Vol. XI, Nos.1-2, P.6.7

5. Ibid, P.24.

The booklet, published by Kālūrāma etc. gives the following topics in addition to those given in ^{the RBh} ~~that~~ published in the VS:

शयनकी भावना (in more details)

निकुंजकी भाव

गिरिराजके आठ व्दार तिनस्रो भाव

श्रुतिरूपा कुमारिका को भाव

अग्नि कुमारिकान को भाव

And at the end of this, we find the following lines: इति श्रीमद् आचार्यवर्य श्री वल्लभकुलकमलोद्भव श्रीमद् गोस्वामि श्री गोकुलनाथजी महाराज कृत नित्य सेवा शृंगार की भावना संपूर्णम्। शुभम्।⁶

After the above colophon, the following topics are treated :

आभरणकी भाव

पंजीरी की भाव

षड्कृतुकी भाव⁷

The RBh (The note-book - MS) of Modasa treats of the following topics :

6. S'ri Rahasya Bhāvanā (ed. Kālūrāma) P.121

7. Ibid, 121-126. There is a publication titled Khaṭ - Rtu-Vārtā edited by S'rī Dvārkaḍāsa Parikh. In the beginning, the work is titled as श्री गोकुलनाथजीविरचित षट्कृतुन की वार्ता (अष्टछाप के कवि चतुर्भुजदास कथित). It describes the use of different things in different seasons and Kṛṣṇa-līlā in the company of Svāmīnījī and other Sakhīs. The editor has not discussed the problem of authorship: Whether the author is GO or Caturbhujedāsa.

- (1) श्री स्वामिनीजी के चरण चिह्न की भावना
- (2) जप करवे की भावना
- (3) श्रीगिरिराजकी भाव
- (4) श्रीगुरुपदेश की भावना
- (5) अभिरन की भाव
- (6) ग्रहण की भाव
- (7) नित्य की भावना

This is what is published in the VS

(Vol. XI Nos. 1-2)

- (8) श्रुति कुमारिकान के साधन करी सिद्धिभई से वार्ता

The colophon runs as under :

इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत नित्य सेवा शृंगार की
भावना संपूर्ण।

And then, the following topics are given:

- (1) दुत्तियापाट की भावना,

इति श्री हरिरायजी कृत दुत्तियापाट तथा फूलमंडली
की भाव संपूर्ण ।

- (2) नये संवत्सर की भाव
- (3) चैत्र सु० १ रामनवमी की भाव
- (4) मेख संक्रांति की भाव
- (5) श्री आचार्यजी के उत्सवकी भाव

The MS is incomplete. The source, from which the matter is taken down, is not noted. This work is similar to that published by Kālūrāma Mukhiyā; and gives some more details than the RBh published in the VS (Vol. XI - 1 & 2).

This MS also gives us the details about the performance of Sevā on different festivals, e.g. नृसिंह चतुर्दशी, गंगादशमी, स्नानयात्रा, etc. It enjoins what type of

food and clothes for the Lord are to be prepared and which 'Kirtanes' are to be sung on those festivals. I think, this is the UBh, ascribed to S'rī GO. But at one place, it is said that इति श्री हरिरायजी कृत स्नानयात्रा की भाव संपूर्ण . So, it seems that some part of this work (i.e. Utsava - Bhāvanā) was written or ammended by S'rī Harirāyajī.

I have seen one MS⁸, in possession of S'rī O.C. Modi of Balasinor, which begins as follows: -

श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्री गोपीजन वल्लभाय नमः ॥
अथ नित्यकृत भावना श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत ताके ऊपर भाषामें
श्री हरिरायजी किये हैं सो लिख्यते ॥ भक्तमनोरथ पूरकाय नमः ॥
अब वैष्णव कों प्रातः काल होत ही भगवत्सेवा की चिंतन करनी ॥
और रात्रिकों वियोग विचारनी ॥ और दर्शन की आश रखनी ॥
पाछे प्रातसमय उठत ही अपने कंठकी माला को दर्शन करनी। ता को
भाव कहत हैं। जो माला हैं। सो तो भगवदीय हैं। ता तें माला
के दर्शन तें भगवद्दर्शन होय ॥ और भगवद्भाव की उत्पत्ती होय।
ता पाछें श्री आचार्य जी महाप्रभूको स्मरण करनी ।

The follow details about the and significance of different actions (e.g. awakening the Lord, the eight kinds of Dars'anas etc.). The work runs over 58 Pages and

8. The MS is not dated, but the letter झू is written as झू and the numeral ०० is written as ५५ . It may be perhaps nearly two hundred years old.

the colophon reads: इति श्री नित्य सेवा विधि

श्री हरिरायजी कृत समाप्तम् ।।

The above quotation shows that the contents of the Balasinor MS are more or less the same as the RBh published by Kālūrāma; but the question, that comes to our mind is about the authorship. All other MSS and publications note that the author of Nitya Krata Bhāvanā or RBh is S'rī GO. A question is raised by the words ताके ऊपर भाषामें श्री हरिरायजी किये हैं ।

Does it mean that GO wrote it in Samskr̥ta and Harirāyaji translated it in Vrajabhāṣā? GO generally taught such subjects in the colloquial tongue. I surmise that Harirāyaji might have made additions to what GO said, or he added those subjects or topics not referred to by GO.

The Bālāsīnor MS contains another work, which runs from ~~P-58~~ P-58 to P-162. It begins as under :

अथ उत्सवन के भावभावना लिख्यते । श्री गोपीजन वत्सभाय नमः । श्री कृष्णाय नमः । भाद्रपद वदी ७ को पाग पिछोरा कसूमल धरिये । याते जो अनुराग सूचक हैं । जन्म के पेहलें ही । तथा सप्तमी को शृंगार अष्टमी के मंगला ताई रहें ।... राजभोग में कछूक सामग्री विशेष । काहे ते । श्री जसोदाजी की कसू में प्रभु हैं ।....

Then, guidance, about the performance of Sevā on different festivals, (such as Janmāṣṭamī, Rādhāṣṭamī, Vāmana-dvādas'ī etc.), is given in details.

The colophon reads: इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत्य उत्सव की विधि संपूर्णम्। This is, I think, nothing but the Utsava - Bhāvanā.

I read one more MS.¹ It treats 33 topics of Nityakī Bhāvanā and 51 topics of Utsavakī Bhāvanā.

The work begins in this way: श्री कृष्णाय नमः। अथ श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत्य रहस्य^{भावना} लिख्यते।। सो पुष्टिमार्गमें जितनी क्रिया हैं।। सो सब श्री स्वामिनीजी के भावतें हैं। ताते मंगलाचरण गावे। प्रथम श्री स्वामिनीजी के चरण कमल को नमस्कार करत हैं। - -

After this श्रीस्वामिनीजी के चरण चिह्नकी भावना is given. The MS ends with the words इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत चरण चिह्नकी टीका संपूर्ण।। After that, another Bhāvanā begins: अथ नित्यकी भावना कहेत हैं। वैष्णव को प्रातःकाल होत ही भगवत्सेवा को चिंतन करनी etc. This MS is mostly the same in this part as that published by Kālūrāma Mukhiā. But there are marked differences at some places, e.g. पाछे निवेदन मंत्र गुरुदाता को स्मरण करि कें नमस्कार करिकें श्री गुसांइजीको रूप ही विचारनी।। Whereas in the printed edition we read पाछे निवेदनमंत्र के दाता गुरु को स्मरण करिके नमस्कार करि श्री ठाकुरजी को ही स्वरूप विचारनी ।

9. The MS belongs to Shri Chimanlal M. Vaidya. It contains 181 leaves^{etc} of size of 8"x13½", and is written in 1945 V.S.

This part of the work ends with the words
इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत नित्य सेवासंगार की भावना संपूर्ण ।
It does not include here the topics आभरणको भाव
पंजीरी को भाव, षट्कृतुको ^{भाव,} which we find in the RBh
published by Kālūrāma Mukhiyā.

Then, (on P.41) begins another Bhāvanā
in this way: अथ श्री हरिरायजी कृत श्री गुसाईंजी के लालजी
कृत जन्माष्टमी की भावना लिख्यते। भाद्रपद वदी ९ को पात्र पिछोरा
धरिये । कसूभी धरिये। etc.

On P. 78, it is stated इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी
कृत श्री गुसाईंजी के जन्म उत्सवकी भावना संपूर्णम्।। श्री कृष्णाय नमः।
अथ श्री हरिरायजी कृत वसंत होलीकी भावना लिख्यते।
Similarly, it includes other Bhāvanās , of other
festivals, by S'rī Harirāyaji, e.g. फूल मंडलीकी भाव
(P.137) स्नान यात्रा की भाव (P.152).

The UBh enjoins certain things to be done,
on certain Puṣṭimārgīya festivals: What types of
clothes, ornaments and food are to be offered to the
Lord and what Kīrtanas are to be sung on those days.
The following passage will give an idea of this
Bhāvanā:

श्रावण सुदी ३॥ चूंनरीको पाग पिछोडा अभ्यंग स्वामिनीजी के यहां झूले हैं। सो तहां प्रभू पधारत हैं। सो ता दिन श्री स्वामिनीजी दान प्रभून छो करछ हैं। सो श्री गोवर्धन पर तीजको चोतरा हैं। सो तहां ठाकुरानी तीज मानी हैं। सो सागरी रात्रि अनेक प्रकार सों गोप्य हैं। सब दिन सब क्षितुमें तहां रमत हैं। सो तासों श्री बाचार्य जी महाप्रभू श्रीजीको प्रथम तहां ही पधराय दीये हैं। सो मध्यान की सैया भोग में नई सामग्री धरत हैं। सो श्री स्वामिनीजी अपनी मनोरथ करत हैं। सो मनोहर को लाडू बूंदी सकल।। ॥ ॥

Then it is noted that इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत तथा श्री वल्लभजी कृत उत्सवभावना की विधि संपूर्णम्। अथ आभरण की भाव कहैत हैं।¹¹

Then, जप करिवे की भावना says how to do the जप, how to turn the rosary and why 108 beads are used. And then, significance of the 'Gomukhi' (A kind of cloth bag, in which the rosary is to be kept and turned) is given. After this we find गिरिराजकी भावना, गुरुपदेश की भावना, पंजरी की भावना and then is given the method of preparation of different sweets to be offered to the Lord.

11. Cf. MS - P.163.

12. Cf. MS - P.165.

The colophon (P.181) reads: इति श्री
गोकुलनाथजी कृत रहस्य भावना संपूर्णम् । लिखातम श्रीगोकुल मध्ये
अनाजकी मंडीमें लिखिया ब्राह्मण गोरधन साहरकी ॥ मिती
सावन वदी ६ ॥ संवत ॥ १९४५ ॥ कुलिणी भावना ॥ श्री

A MS (Hindi No.87/4/1) preserved in
the Kāṅkarolī Vidyā Vibhāga begins as follows:

भावना वचनामृत लिख्यते । मार्गशीर्ष वदी १ तें धनुर्मास
मानंत हे सो दंडकारण्य के भक्त नें कात्यायनी व्रत कीयो हे सो
ये मर्यादा पुष्टि भक्त हे तातें मर्यादामें अंगीकार क्यो हे।

Then, it asks the devotee to cultivate
the attitude (bhāva) with which food and clothing
are to be offered to the Lord and to observe the
spirit of the svāminījī and her different sakhīs
on different days.

At the end, it is stated that -

या हीतसूं सब उत्सव श्री अनाचार्यजी की कृपा तें श्री गुंसाईजी
के बल श्री गोकुलनाथजीकी बांह गहैहे इतनी श्रीजीने कृपा करी उत्सव
निर्णय संक्षेप में लिख्यो हे।

Another MS(Hindi No.84/4/2) preserved in the
Kāṅkarolī Vidyā Vibhāga begins as follows:

श्री कृष्णाय नमः॥ प्रथमं ब्रजे श्रीगोवर्धननाथस्य प्राकट्यं
श्रीश्रुतिरूपा तथैव दंडकारण्य तथैव नंदजी तथैव मातृवरण प्रभृतीनां
भावेन तल्लिख्यते। नित्य सिद्धा लीलाया ये भक्तास्तै.....

The colophon reads:

पाछे एक यज्ञपत्नी हती सो सबने पहेलें श्रीजीकी जाय
मिली।। इति श्री गोस्वामी गोकुलनाथजी मुख तें उत्सवभावना कही
सो और वैष्णवने वचनामृत लिखे सो संपूर्णमस्तु।। सं० १८२८ ना वर्षी
फाल्गुन मासे शुक्ल पक्षी तिथी तृयोदशी भीमवासरे लिखितं इदं पुस्तकं।

The MS teaches what types of spirit is
to be observed on different festivals.

In another MS (Hindi No.92/1/3) dated
1873 V.S.) of Kāṅkarolī Vidyā Vibhāga, there is a
mention of Utsva mālikā¹³ of Harirayaji; similarly,
some MSS (e.g. the Modasa note-book-size MS refered
to above) mention Harirāyaji to be the author at
some places. So, UBh is a joint work of GO and

Harirāyaji.
Comparison of these MSS and printed editions of RBh leads to the
following conclusions: (1) RBh is not a uniform and settled form
of work. Different MSS treat a variety of topics.

(2) RBh is the same as the Nitya Kratya
Bhāvanā or the Sevāvidhi or the Nitya Sevā
Singārakī Bhāvanā.

(3) Sevā Bhāvanā¹⁴ (mentioned on P.2 of this
Chapter) is not different from the RBh or the Nitya
Kratya Bhāvanā.

13. Vide footnote No.39 at the end of this chapter.

14. There is a Gujarati work titled Seva Sarvasva,
written by S'ri Narotham Shastri of Kapadvanj. It
contains Sevāvidhi and Utsavavidhi etc. to be followed
by the Vaisnavas belonging to the 'Fourth House'. It
is based on the Rahasya Bhāvanā and Utsava Bhāvanā.

धनश्रीगोकुलनाथजीकृत्यरहस्यभावनासं॥
 लिख्यते॥ स्वर्गिण्यस्यमेतितनीयों
 स्वामीजीकेभावतेहैं॥ तातेमंगलाचरन
 गये॥ प्रथमश्रीस्वामिनीजीकेचरनकमलकान
 मस्कारकरतहैं॥ तिनकीउपमादेवेकमनदसो
 दिसादोसो॥ परंतुकहंपायो नही पाछेंश्रीस्व
 मिनीजीकेचरनकमलकोआश्रयमेंकीयोहैं
 तबउपमादेवेकहृदयमेंस्फुर्तिभई जेसेश्रीठा
 नुरजीकोप्रधरविंवआरतहैं तातेश्रीस्वामिनी
 जीकेचरनकमलकोनमस्कारकरतहैं तिन
 मेंअनवटविहिया नूपुरुआदिआभूषनहैं सो

A Photo-copy of Gokulnāthji's Rahasya-Bhāvanā, beginning
 with the Bhāvanā of Svāminīji's Lotus-feet-marks.
 Underneath is the end of the Nitya-Bhāvanā or Nitya-Sevā-
 -Śringāra-Bhāvanā of Gokulnāthaji. The MS is dated 1945 V.S.
 (By courtesy of Shri Chimanlal M. Vaidya.)

कन्याप्रगटहोऊगी सोतवश्रीनंदरायजीकेघरजाय
 मनोरथपूरनहोयगो सोयाप्रकारश्रीरामचंद्रजीकेवच
 नहुनिकेंरिषीकेरितचांतपस्याकरनलागे सोसारख
 तकल्पमेंगोउदेसमेंकन्याप्रगटहोतभये सोतवप्रभून
 केअर्थकात्यायनीदेवीकेमिसश्रीजमुनाजीकोंप्रजन
 लीयो सोप्रभुवारिलीलाकस्वरदंनदीये जोहमतुम
 कोरासमेंअंगीकारकरेंगे सोयाप्रकारअमिकुंमारिका
 नकोंअंगीरभयो॥ इति श्रीगोकुलनाथजीकृतनित्यसं
 वासिगारकीभावनासंपूर्ण॥ श्रीकृष्णायनमः॥ अथश्री

(4) Some MSS of Nitya Kratya Bhāvanā or RBh include Svāminīke Carana Cihnakī Bhāvanā, UBh Sad Rtuko Bhāva, etc.

(5) The present UBh or Utsava Vidhi is a joint work of GO and Harirāyājī and S'rī Vallabhājī. It is difficult to ascertain whether this Vallabhājī is the same as Kākā Vallabhājī (birth 1703 V.S.)¹⁵

(iii) Bhāva - Bhāvanā, Līlā Bhāvanā and Svarūpa Bhāvanā

(a) The word Bhāvanā is common to other Bhāvanās too. In the Balasinor MS, the UBh begins in this way:

अथ उत्सवन के भावभावना लिख्यते।¹⁶

15. Vide also footnote No. 32 at the end of this chapter. Also vide in this connection the colophon of a MS (no. 1033 Gujarati - Hindi Section) of Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā of Ahmedabad:

इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी तथा श्रीवत्सभजी तथा श्री हरिरायजी
कृत भावभावना नित्यकृतकी तथा चरण चिह्नकी तथा वर्णात्सव होरी
वसंत तथा डोल की भावना तथा अष्ट स्वरूप की भावना तथा चरण
की भावभावना संपूर्ण । सं० १९७२ भा० सु० ८ -

16. Vide also the colophon of the MS referred to in the above footnote. Also see Kāṅkarolī MS (Hindi No. 159/5) which is titled Bhāva-Bhāvanā. It is ascribed to Harirāyājī in the beginning, and to both GO and Harirāyājī at the end. It is as good as Rahasya Bhāvanā or Sevā Bhāvanā. In the

It seems that Bhāva Bhāvanā of GO is not a separate work. I have consulted some 'maryādī' ~~vīra~~ Vaisṇavas and they opined that the Bhāva Bhāvanā is the same as the Seva-bhāvanā or the RBh.

There is one MS titled Bhāva Bhāvanā of GO in the Kanaiyāprabhu Pustakālaya of Modasa. The MS is dated 1984 V.S. The colophon reads:

इति श्री हरिराय प्रेरि हे बुद्धि करकें प्रादुर्भाव समाप्त॥

This work gives a description of Madhuvana, describes the Svarūpas of VL, VT, describes the and GO; and refers to some incidents of their lives. The work enumerates 31 purposes¹⁷ of the birth of GO. I think it is most probably written by some Bharucī Vaisṇava.

(b) A MS (Hindi No. 103/4/16) of Kāṅkarolī Vidyā Vibhāga contains Svarūpa Bhāvanā and Līlā Bhāvanā. The author and the date are not mentioned therein. The Līlā Bhāvanā begins as follows:

16. ..Contd... beginning, it is stated that Seva is to be performed with the attitude and spirit of Svāminījī.

17. Cf. PP. 54 - 57 of the MS in question.

अथ लीला भावना लिख्यते। लीला भावना सो तो लीला स्थल जे भक्त तिन के स्वरूप की भावना तहां वामभागस्य श्री स्वामिनीजी आप विराजत है। तिन को स्वरूप स्याम है। श्लोक श्याम हिरण्य आदि

After this, the forms (svarūpa) of Yamunājī, mount Govardhana, Vraja, Vraja bhakta^{etc.} are described.

On P.135 of the said MS, it is stated that -

भावना के बिच समग्र उत्सव के भाव लिख्यो हैं परंतु या को विचार तो बहुत है ताहीं तें इहां लिख्यो नहीं और जो देखि वे को मन होइ तो श्री द्वारीकां नाथजी कृत बड़ी भावनां देखे।

The author and date of the MS are not mentioned. In the ~~absence~~ absence of any other MS of this work¹⁸ or any statement in the work, it is difficult to ascertain its authorship. But generally it is said in the Sampradāya that such Bhāvanās are ascribed to G.O.

The Līlā Bhāvanā, as its name suggests, describes the places and things, rather the paraphernalia, of the Divine Sport.

There is a MS (Hindi No.137/6) in Kāṅkarolī Vidyā Vibhāga, titled आचार्यजी महाप्रभुन की वार्ता. It contains, among other things, a description of different 12 Kuñjas (पुष्प, फल, रस, रास, गी, द्वार, नव, शशि, प्रेम सिद्ध लक्ष्मी and तुलसी कुंज).

18. Very similar is another MS (Hindi No.90/2) of Līlā Bhāvanā, but no more information is available from it.

It is stated that the grace of S'rī VL leads one to the site of the Divine Sport and an instance is given here, as to how Svāminījī shows the Kuñjas to a disciple of S'rī VL. It is difficult to say, whether this forms a part of the Līlā Bhāvanā.

(c) There are several MSS¹⁹ in Kāñkarolī which contain^{the} SvarūpaBhāvanā. Generally, the Svarūpa Bhāvanā is included in^{the} Bhāva Bhāvanā or^{the} Rāhasya Bhāvanā or^{the} Līlā Bhāvanā. In these MSS GO is not mentioned as its^{the} author. There is one svarūpa Bhāvanā published in Fustisudhā (Vol. V. Nos. 5 to 8). The author is not mentioned, but in one foot-note (Kn P.15) the word 'we' occurring in the work itself, is explained as श्रीद्वारिकेशजी भवन्त कर . So, the author of the published work is probably Dvārikesajī.²⁰

A MS (Hindi No. 87/ 4 / 4) in Kāñkarolī gives in some five lines the dēscription of S'rī Nāthajī . The Author is not mentioned. It is titled अथ श्रीजी के स्वरूप की

19. MSS (Hindi Section) Nos. -6/3/2, 103/4/16, 106/6/1, (Sanskrit Section) No.90/2/4, 92/4/7.

20. Kāñkarolī MSS No. 96/3/2 and No.103/4/6 are similar to the published svarūpa Bhāvanā.

भावना. 21

A MS in Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā of Ahmedabad²² is titled as श्री गोकुलनाथजी तथा श्री हरिरायजी कृत भावभावना। It contains many topics; one of them is अष्टस्वरूप की भावना on P.28 it begins with the words अथ अब स्वरूप की भावना लिख्यते । - - - About the idols of Govardhananāthajī alias S'rīnāthajī and S'rī Gokulanāthajī, it is said as follows:

श्री स्वामिनीजी के मनोर्थकी बांम हस्त उंची रास को भाव हैं कहे ते गोवर्धन उठाए हो ते तो हस्तकी मुठी बांधी होती। एक ऊंगरीऊं उंची हुती इहां तो पांचो ऊंगरी सम नित्य में ऊंचे हस्त कदि भाव दिखावत हैं तथा ऊंचे हस्त कदि भक्त कों बुलाए भक्त के मन खेंचि कें अपनी दक्षाण हस्त की मुठीमें कदि लीए पाछे कहे जी जब भक्त कहे हमारो मन तुम्हारे पास हैं सो देऊ तो जाय तब अंगुष्ठ दिणाए ।

(पृ० २९)

x

x

x

21. Cf. अथ श्रीजीके स्वरूप की भावना॥ श्रीनाथजी पीठक सुधां दक्षिण दिशा गाय ३ बीतिहैं। ता मध्ये १ तो प्रत्यक्षा दर्शन देत हे। तथा २ इंदोय के अवंगि कैदरामध्ये तथा मुख प्रत्यक्षा दर्शन देत हैं। मुखारविंद तीत्योन के सन्मुख है। ता उपर सर्प बैठयो हे उपर मणि हे। ता उपर मेंढा हे। ता उपर एक भक्त स्वरूप हैं। श्री मस्तक उपर मोर हे। वाम कोंन में भक्त स्वरूप देय हैं - - - (इत्यादि)। इति श्री भावना संपूर्ण॥

22. Vide footnote No.15 ante.

अब श्री गोकुलनाथजी के स्वरूप को वर्णन करत है ॥
 श्री गोकुलनाथजी की स्वरूप गौवर्धन उठाए है जब प्रभु पधारें
 तब दास को यह धर्म है जो उठि ठाढो होई सो प्रभु की
 इच्छा जानि सगरे ब्रज में छत्र कार हवै गए तब श्री
 गौवर्धन की उपमा बडाई देन अर्थ छत्र में ह^{उड़ी} ही चाहिए सो
 प्रथम वाम हस्त उडाय पीछे दक्षिण हस्त की अंगुरी पीछे राजी
 बांमहस्त में विना छिद्रों संख है सो जलकी आदिदेविक
 है ताते सगरे जलकों आकर्षण कियो..... (पृ० ३१)

In this way, the description and meaning of the different 'nidhi - Svarupas' ^{are} ~~one~~ given in this work.

Svarūpa Bhāvanā, as its name suggests, shows the esoteric meaning of the different idols of Kṛṣṇa.

(iv) S'ri Svāminījī ke Carana Cihna kī Bhāvanā :

In ^{some} MSS, this work is included in the RBh²³.
 It is published in one of the issues of the VS²⁴
 beginning with the words **इय-श्री- अब श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत**
चरनचिह्न की भावना लिख्यते।

23. Vide P.359 and 362 in this Chapter.

24. Cf. Vol. V, Nos. 5-6, P.5. The source of the MS is not stated. I have also seen it in the note-book MS of Modasa and have found that there is hardly any difference between these two, excepting some change of words and sentences.

In the beginning, it is said that the mind tried to find out a suitable simile for the feet of S'rī Svāminījī, but it could not do so; however, when the mind sought refuge in Her lotus-feet, the mind was inspired to describe them. Her lotus-feet have ten fingers, which indicate that the ten-fold Bhakti has taken refuge in Her feet. So, every Vaiṣṇava should worship and serve and seek refuge in the lotus-feet of Svāminījī, the Divine Consort of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

Then it is said that Her lotus-feet have 15 different fortune marks (astrological signs). The right foot has seven marks: a Chatra, a cakṛa, a flag, a lotus, a barley grain, a goad (amkus'a) and a vertical line, while the left foot has eight marks: a mace, a lotus, a chariot, an arrow (i.e. śakti), a fish, an altar, an ear-ring and a mount. After this, the significance of each of the marks is dealt with. For example, the mark of the chatra or the umbrella indicates that whosoever seeks protection of the Highest Lord (Purna Puruṣottama), will obtain the highest bliss; and hence the sign of the chatra should be meditated upon with faith. The cakṛa is the emblem of a great lord and indicates supreme power. Here the mark of the cakṛa indicates that S'rī Svāminījī has full influence and power over ^{the} Highest Lord, and just as king Ambarīṣa was saved by the

cakra from the ferocity of Durvāsas, the cakṛa saves the devotees from all miseries. That is why S'rī Svāminījī keeps the mark of cakṛa on her foot.

The right foot is the principal Puṣṭi and S'rī Svāminījī, with these seven marks, indicates that the six attributes (Dharmās: ais'varya, Vīrya, Yas'as, S'rī, ħṇāna, Vairāgya) with the attributed (Dharmī) reside in her. The eight marks on the left foot are indicative of the sevā of eight times (praharas). It is stated that it is very difficult even to perform one sevā fully, what to talk of the sevā of eight different times! So, these eight marks inform us that meditation on them leads to all the fruit of sevā. At the end, the following lines are read:

या प्रकार दोऊ चरन के चिह्न की भाव सहित
वर्णन किये। दोऊ चरन में पन्द्रह चिन्ह हैं। सगरे महिना तथा
वर्षा आय गये। ताते जो कोई वैष्णव पन्द्रह चिन्ह की चिंतन
करे तिनको कबहु कोई कालमें रसके अनुभव में प्रतिबंध न करेगी।
सदा एक रस रूप की अनुभव होयगी। या प्रकार चिन्हके भाव
कछू अपनी बुद्धि के अनुसार वर्णन किये। इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी
कृत चरनचिन्हकी भावना टीका सहित संपूर्णम् ॥

The last words ' टीका सहित ' raise a question, whether there is any original work, whose translation and comment comprise the present work.

In the beginning, there is no mention to the word 'टीका'. It may be that there may be some Samskr̥ta work, and this may be the translation with additions here and there. But all other Bhāvanās are in Vrajabhāṣā and so may be this work. It is possible that the words 'टीका रचित' might have been added by the scribes or by a person who might have added some explanations here and there.

This work quotes one pada of Nandadāsa,²⁵ one verse from Subodhini²⁶ and one pada of Paramānandadāsa²⁷. But these do not lead us to determine the date of composition of this work, for the dates of composition of those padas are not known.

There is a reference to some Devis, in this work, such as Madhyamā, Naubhāri²⁸ etc., who are hardly known.

25. चांपत चरन मोहन लाल VS.Vol.V, 5-6, P.8.

26. नमामि हृदये शेषो..... Ibid, P.11.

27. भजमन राधिका के चरन... Ibid, P.13.

28. Ibid, P.12.

(v) Grahana - Bhāvanā

This work is published in Anugraha²⁹ and runs over one and a half page. The editor of the work, S'rī Harikṛṣṇa V. S'āstrī has said that the MS is dated 1875 and the colophon reads श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत ग्रहणभावना । It is found included in some MSS in the Utsava - Viāhi or UBh. It says what type of dress and meals (vāstra and bhoga) are to be offered to the Lord on the occasion of an eclipse and teaches with what spirit (bhāva) the Lord is to be worshipped at the time of an eclipse.

(vi) S'rī Ācāryajī Tathā S'rī Gusāmijike Svarūpa ko Vicāra.

A MS of ^{this} work is found in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī.³⁰ As far as I know, it is so far unpublished. The colophon reads इति श्री आचार्यजी की तथा श्री गुसांईजी के स्वरूप को विचार संपूर्णम् । श्रीगोकुलनाथजी कृत ॥

29. Vide Vol. 5-12, P.26 & 58.

30. Vide Hindi Vidyābhāga: Bandhā No.99, Fustak^{ak} No.17. There is another MS too, (No.104/7/1) titled आचार्यजी के स्वरूपकी निर्णय. The author is not mentioned. It is difficult^{erent} from the above MS.

This work says that the Lord asked His Lotus-mouth to display all His greatness (mahātmya) and show His real svarūpa to the Puṣṭimārgīya souls and make them experience the Divine Sport.³¹ In this way, the purpose of the birth of S'rī VL is shown here. Then, the verse सींदर्य निजहृद्गतं is given and it is explained that at the time of the Divine Sport, the 'strī-bhāva' of the Lord and the 'puruṣabhāva' of S'rī Svāminījī separated and those two bhāvas formed the form of VL.

Then, a third explanation is given. At the time of Rāsakrīdā, Kṛṣṇa disappeared and the devotees of vraja uttered the verse भजतोऽनुभजत्येक.....³². Kṛṣṇa, then, said, न पारयेऽहं ... etc.³³, in which it is said that the (Kṛṣṇa) could not repay the debts of the 'dāsatva bhāva' of Svāminījī. So, he took the form of S'rī VL and exhibited His 'dāsatva bhāva' towards S'rī Svāminījī.

31. Cf. भूतल विषे प्रगट होय हमारी अखिल माहात्म्य अंतरंग लीलावाणी द्वारा प्रकटकरि पुष्टिमार्गीय जीवन को हमारे साक्षात् स्वरूपको दाँत करो ॥ - P.2 of the copy of the MS, in possession of S'rī O.C. Modi of Balasinor.

32. Bg. X - 32 - 16.

33. Bg. X - 32 - 22.

The work, then, explains the form of VT. It is said that the 'strībhāva' of Svāminījī and the 'kāma bhāva' of the Lord both combined to form the svarūpa of VT. Therefore, whatever actions VT has done, they are the sport of the Lord. Secondly, he is the svarūpa of Candrāvalījī,³⁴ Thirdly, he is the svarūpa of Yamunājī. 'Dāsatvabhāva' towards Svāminījī in S'rī VL did not reach its culmination and hence to bring to it its completeness, the Lord assumed the form of VT, who described his 'dāsatva' in S'rīsvāminyaṣṭaka and Svāminīstotra.

VL has said that Svāminījī is the true guru of the Puṣṭimārga, in which 'strī-bhāva' is all important, and, therefore, VT, who is the 'strī-bhāva' incarnate of S'rī Svāminījī, became the guru and taught 'dāsatva' and sevā to his devotees; and led them to the Divine Sport. This is different from what we read

in Vallabhākyāna of Gopaldas.³⁵

34. Cf. तातें श्रीगुसांईजी चंद्रावलीजूको स्वरूप धरिकें लीला

सामग्री सिद्ध करिबेको दासत्व कियो । ————O.C.Modi's MS P.6.

35. Cf. वचन निश्चै श्रीनाथे माग्युं, कीधी श्रीवत्सभजी शुं वात।

अपने तो इच्छा एह छे जे नंदन खमे तात ॥ -

- Vallabhākyāna II - 16.

At the end of the work the following verse is given :

ब्रजपतिनव केलीभावसर्वस्वरूपः सुललितगतिराधाराधना सक्तचित्तः।
तदुभयरस लीलानन्द संदोहपूर्णः स भवतु मम सर्व विद्वत्पतिः सुवेशः॥

This small work is an attempt to give a līlātmaka ~~in-the~~ interpretation and purpose of the births of VL and VT, who are both the svarūpas of the Highest Lord. The style and phraseology (e.g. the word līlā - madhya - pātī) are like those found in other works of GO. 29 36

(vii) Importance of the Bhāvanā Sāhitya

Thus, sevāvidhi, sevābhāva and daily religious routine of a Vaiṣṇava form the subject matter of the Bhāvanā Sāhitya. The Bhāvanās show the import and significance of each and every action and rite that the devotee has to do while worshipping the Lord. They inculcate in the mind of the devotee that in Sevā, love and affection for the Lord and devotional attitude (bhāva) are more important than the rite (kriyā). RBh goes to the extent of enjoining the devotee to observe the appointed time of the sevā and to make marks on the body later. ^{betel} 37 Chewing the ~~marks~~-leaf

36. This work is included in the chapter on Bhāvanā Sāhitya because it exposes the bhāvanā or the spirit of the svarūpas of S'rī VL. and S'rī VT.

37. Cf. सेवाको समय भयो होय तो मुद्रा पीछे करनी।-

nut is enjoined to remove the bad smell of the mouth³⁸ and not for its tastefulness. Love and affection reigns supremeth the Pustimarga and therefore the work enjoins the devotee that he should keep in mind, above all, the happiness and comfort of the Lord. Mechanical actions and rites have no value if there is no true bhāva at the back. Pustimarga is principally based on devotional attitude (bhāva), it is bhāvanātmaka and the different actions and the things, employed while doing sevā, have some bhāva attached to them. The Bhāvanās teach such bhāvas. They teach the spirit of^{the} Pustimarga truly. They show how the Lord Balakṛṣṇa is to be worshipped affectionately (वात्सल्य भावेन) and in the spirit of a 'pativrata'. So, the Bhāvanās are important from this point of view. S'rī VL gave a philosophical basis to the S'uddhādvaita Pustimarga, S'rī VT created a structure of purposeful sevāmarga (path of worship), and GO gave significance to each of the rites, offered allegorical interpretations of rituals and things used therein, and thus gave a strong bhāvanātmaka base to the mode of worship. He, in this way, prevented the modes of worship from turning into a mechanical and meaningless jumble of rituals. It is on this account, that ~~Bhakti~~ Bhaktimarga is different from Upāsānamarga.

It should be noted here that all of this Bhāvanā Sāhitya is not actually from the pen of GO.

38. मुखशुद्धयर्थं बीडी खानी। मुखकी बास भिटे। - Ibid, P.3.

He is the narrator (pravaktā) as in the case of the 84 and 252 Vārtas, and the scribes and the followers might have taken down what he said. The principal author is S'rī GO and later scribes and Gosvamīs like Harirāyajī might have ~~em~~ made additions, and even some modifications later. This is how we can account for the differences of language in different MSS and publications, and the mention of Harirāyajī and Vallabhajī as authors at some places.

These Bhāvanās are most probably compiled later from the vacanāmṛtas of GO. A MS (Hindi Section No.9/2/2) in Kāṅkarolī is titled as *सेवादिधि १४. गोकुलनाथजी के वचनमृत*. In this MS, it is stated at one place that श्री गोकुलनाथजी के वचन सों जो वैष्णव की जो करनी सो लिख्यतु है। चार घरि रात्रि रहे तब उठनी ॥ I think, most probably Harirāyajī was instrumental in compilation and additions, for many MSS mention GO and Harirāyajī as author, of Nityakṛta Bhāvanā and Utsava Bhāvanā or Utsavamālīkā.³⁹

39. Vide the Kāṅkarolī MS (Hindi No.8/2/2) where the author of Utsavaprakāra is stated to be GO. and also the MS (Hindi No.92/1/3) where the author is stated to be Harirāyajī. Read: श्री हरीरायजी पुष्टीदढाव कीयो है भाणाभैं तथा उत्सवमालिका करी हैं सो समझ के करना..
- MS P. 108.

Chapter III (d)

Vacanāmṛta Sāhitya

(i) What is Vacanāmṛta Sāhitya ?

The word Vacanāmṛta (Vac) is in vogue in the Puṣṭimārgīya literature. It is a metaphor. Speech (or word), which is sweet and inspiring, is identified with nectar. Speeches or talks of great religious preceptors are considered as sweet as nectar, because they teach us how to be free from worldly miseries and to experience bliss. Oral precepts of VL, VT, GO and other Gosvāmīs are, therefore, called vacanāmṛtas, nectar-precepts. Unfortunately Vac of VL and VT are not available to-day. Those of only a few Gosvāmīs, such as Kākā Vallabhajī, Giridharajī etc., are available. It is a good fortune that some of the followers of GO took down his oral precepts and passed them on to posterity.

GO made his usual practice to talk to the Vaiṣṇavas about a variety of subjects. Such talks were going on even while he bathed¹ or while he was in the 'nija-mandira' for the Lord's worship. But mostly he preached in the afternoon, while he took his seat

1. Cf. तमासीनं जलगृहे द्वित्रैः परिवृतं जनैः !

(gādī) and at night after supper, when the Vaisnavas used to gather round him to listen to his sweet and humorous talks.² At such times, they brought their queries as regards the mode of worship, about some incidents described in the BG etc., and GO, answered their queries. Many times the Vaisnavas requested him to talk about the special characteristics of their religion, and about the Ācārya (i.e. VL) and his disciples, and he preached them the doctrines of the religion with illustrations from the scriptures as well lives of the great Vaisnavas. The Vārtās and the Bhāvanās are the results of such discourses or talks. Practically, they form part of the Vacanāmṛta literature, but they, having formed distinct subjects, are collected under those captions. Those discourses or talks which are not included in the Vārtās or the Bhāvanās or other works, are collected under the caption Vac.

The Vac, being oral teachings, might have been lost for ever, had not some followers of GO written them down. To-day, we are not able to trace how many Vaisnavas took down the Vac. There are many MSS of the

2. Cf. वचनामृतमाधुर्यतृप्त सेवक संस्तुतः। - - Viṣṇudāsā's
 Astottaras'atanāmāni (Gokules'a - Dhola - pada -
 Mādhurī, P. 20).

collections of the Vac but the Vaisnava scribes are not mentioned. Some information is supplied by Gopaldas. He relates that Jamanādasā Jānī collected some Vac, but they were only a small part of Go's Vac.³ The collection is called S'rī varavākyāmrta - rasa - ratna - kos'a (hereafter referred to as Varavākyāmrta). It appears that there were some more collections, and there were various versions also. Today, in some of the store-houses of books (Bhandāras in the temples) and in the collections of some of the Vaisnavas, there are several MSS of GO's Vac, which do not appear to be the copies of the MS, but appear to be collections of Vac uttered at different times and places. Such collections

3. Cf. पछे पोतानो आश्रित जाणी तत्पर जमनादास,

तेडीने आगलकीधो पोते भावप्रकाश । - ६०

पूखूं श्रीमुख वचनामृतनी संग्रह छे कई ताहरे,

ज्यांहां त्यांहांथी सचे करी लायो कारज छे एक माहरे।-६१

..... वचनामृतथी वैष्णवने पूख्यो मधुसंचय करी लीधो। - ६४

..... एथी जगतहितारथी संग्रह कीधो सार,

ते उपर भगवदिच्छाए हवो ग्रंथ विस्तार । - ६६

..... श्रीगोकुलेश लीलानुं सागर तेहनी कणिका मात्र,

ते जस कहैवा उद्यम कीधो पण धरण शक्या नही पाव।-६८

-Gopaldas: Prāgatya Siddhānta Maṅgala - 2, (Anugraha

Vol. XXI - No.3, P.58)

are found at Kāṅkarolī, Kāmavana, Nāthadvārā, Baroda, Dabhoi, Kapadvanj, Modasa, Balasinor, Deogadhbaria, Bhādhālpur etc. The earliest MS of the Vac is dated 1693 V.S. and is available in Kāṅkarolī.⁴ These collections can be compared to modern works like 'Speeches of ~~speeches~~ Nehru', 'Collections of Gandhiji's speeches,' 'Edmund Burke's speeches, on American Taxation', etc.

(ii) Published and unpublished collections of the Vac:-

The number of Vac is very great. It is placed at from fifteen thousand to one lakh. But today, it is difficult to ascertain the truth about their total number. Whatever it may be, we find several MSS as well as publications of Vac published under different titles.⁵ Some of them are also published in different

4. Vide Hindi Section MS No.141/3.

5. The following publications of the Vac have come to be known :

- (i) श्रीगौकुलनाथजीना हास्यप्रसंगी भाग-१-२(सं०दीनकिंकर)(१९८४-८६ वि०सं०)
- (ii) श्रीगौकुलेश वाक्सुधा भाग १(सं० ची० म० वैद्य, प्र०शुद्धादित संसद् : १९५२ ई०सं०)
- (iii) २४ वचनामृत (प्र०ल०छ० देसाई : १९७६ वि०सं०)

It appears that वैष्णव लक्षण ग्रंथ is the same as the '24 Vac'.

(iv) A very small part of the Varavākyāmṛta - ratnekos'a is published in the periodical Anugraha Vol.XI No.12.

periodicals also.⁶

As regards the unpublished Vac, it is to be said that there are many ~~ex~~ collections which have a number of Vac in common. Out of these collections, some of the Vac are published, but still there are hundreds of them, which still await publication.

Apart from the stray collections of the Vac, there are certain Vac which appear to have been collected or told under some particular titles.

There is one such collection, called वक्त्रि
लक्षण (32 characteristics)⁷. The name of the author is not given, but it being a dialogue ~~betw~~ between GO (called here Mahāprabhuṣī) and K. Bhaṭṭa, should be ascribed to GO. It has much similarity with the '24 Vac'. It is possible that this work and the '24 Vac' may be different versions of one and the same discourse. The subject of the work, as its title suggests, is the characteristics of a Vaisṇava. It can be called Puṣṭimārgīya Ethics.

6. Vide the files of Anugraha (Particularly Volumes XI, XVIII, XXII), S'uddhādvaita & Bhaktimārtanda and the VS (Vol. I to V and VIII, IX and X)

7. Its MS (dated 1873 V.S.) is available in Kāṅkarolī.

Vide Hindi Section No.92/1/3 P.84 to 109. There is another MS (No.106/5) too and is very similar to the above.

There is another MS⁸ in Kāṅkarolī, whose title is not given. It is a dialogue between S'rījī (i.e. GO) and K. Bhaṭṭa, and hence should be ascribed to GO. The subject of the work is Pujāmārga and Bhaktimārga. It is shown here, how the sixteen actions (vidhis, e.g. Āvāhana, āsana, arghya,visarjana) of the Pujāmārga differ from those of the Bhaktimārga.

There is another MS⁹ in Kāṅkarolī, titled Nita - vinoda - s'ikṣā. At the end of the work, there is the story of Nārāyaṇadāsa Kārabhārī. The work is a dialogue between Akbar and Mahāprabhuji, who may be either VL or GO. But the style of the work is like that of GO's Vac, and therefore, I surmise that the work is a collection of GO's talks. Secondly, VL and Akbar were not contemporaries, while GO and Akbar were. It is in the form of short questions and short answers. It may be argued that such a talk between GO and Akbar might not have taken place, but we have no evidence to prove any of the two stands. The work is a good example of ready-witted answers.¹⁰

8. Vide Hindi Section no. 105/9/1. A work very similar to it, is published in the VS Vol. II-2.

9. Vide Hindi Section No. 108/12. It contains 12 pages of 7½" x 4½" size.

10. Cf. पूछ्या वह कोन बात तो बुद्धके ताई बढावें। कहुया सांच बोलना।
पूछ्या मोत्र से बुरा क्या। कहुया दा लिद्र।

- MS No. 108/12 (some words are not clearly understood).

In the *Rasasindhu* of Mahāvādāsa, Tattvārtha-dohana of Gopāldās and such other works of GO's followers, there are references that GO said or explained this or that thing. Such references can also be included in the Vac literature.

Most important of all the collections of the Vac, are the *Vara Vākyaṃṛta*¹¹ and the fourteenth¹² book of the *Kallola*, of K. Bhaṭṭa, which is called श्रीमुखद्विमुक्तामय. Only a few Vac from the *Vara Vākyaṃṛta* are published. It is divided into 84 to 90 divisions, such as गुजराती ब्राह्मणनी हांसी (No.1), श्रीजीनी वात (No.18), प्रमेयबलनी वात (No.19), संस्कृतना प्रसंग (No.42), वैष्णव माहात्म्यनी वात (No.45), आत्मापरमात्मानी वात (No.58), अन्थाश्रयबाधकनी वात (No.60), सानुभवनी वात (No.66) etc. Each of the divisions contains a number of talks (prasaṅgas); e.g. division No.42 contains 35 talks. Some talks, found in one division, are also repeated in other divisions.¹³

11. Its MSS are available in Kāṅkarolī, Vide Hindi Section Nos.142/8 (complete) and 86/4 (incomplete). The former MS contains 272 leaves of the size of 11" x 6 3/4" and is written by more than one scribe.

12. Its MSS are not easily available. One MS is available in the temple sacred to GO, in Baroda, a part of it is available in the Dahilaxmi Library of Nadiad ~~is available in the temple sacred to GO, in Baroda~~ & a free translation of it by Pandit Loknath is available in the collection of MS of S'ri O.C. Modi of Balasinor.

13. Cf. for example, talks Nos. 13 & 14 of the division No.42 (संस्कृतना प्रसंग) with the talk No.30 of the division No.35. (स्नेहसंबंधनी वात)

It is possible that the Vara-Vākyāmrta might have been arranged after collecting the Vac from different Vaisnavas. It is said that the commendable effort was done by Jamanādasā Jānī, who was inspired by Gokulabhāī to collect the Vac of GO. Kes'avalāla Bhāganagarī is said to have written comments on the Vara-vākyāmrta. Many MSS of the collections of the Vac are copied from this classified collection.

The second important collection is in the 14th part of the Kallola, which contains 30 tarāṅgas in Samskr̥ta . It is in both prose and verse, and treats of topics like लीलाश्रवण (No.1) लीलाप्रवेशहेतु (No.2), भक्तलक्ष्मण (No.3), उत्तम भक्तस्वभाव (No.4) पुरुषोत्तम प्राप्तिरूप विशेष (No.15), आत्मस्यादि दोषा (No.18) मुख्य स्वामिनी गुण (No.24), दुष्टजीव कृतार्थता (No.27) etc.

(iii) The themes and method of the Vac

The Vac are scattered talks given on different occasions and therefore, do not have one uniform topic or theme. GO talked on a variety of subjects, mostly pertaining to the religion. In the Vara-vākyāmrta, there has been an attempt to classify them, but the basis of classification does not appear proper. The themes of the Vac are a legion. They contain GO's views on the BG, the Sub, Kṛṣṇalīlā , Puṣṭimārgīya worship, etc.¹⁴

14. The Vac literature needs to be explored, reclassified & reedited into uniform topics like, Puṣṭimārgīya worship Ethics, Interpretations of the verses of BG & Sub, Doctrines of Puṣṭimārga, A true vaisnava, Kṛṣṇalīlā, साधक बाधक विचार, भगवत्तमाहात्म्य, महाप्रसादमाहात्म्य etc. etc.

: ॥ श्रीगोपीजनवद्वन्नायनमः ॥ श्रीवारिकानाथायनमः ॥ श्रीगोकुलेश्वरोजयतु ॥ ॥ गोकुलेश्वर
 पद्येहमगवंतं कृपाणवम् ॥ आविर्भूय कलौ घोरे यो विश्वमकृतार्थयत् ॥ १ ॥ तमासीनं जल गृहे दि
 तैः परिवर्तनितैः ॥ नक्तैर्नीग्यवतां त्रेहैर्विनामयमहनतः ॥ २ ॥ महाराजाधिराजेश्वरीयुता
 ने मुखं बजात् ॥ शास्त्राञ्च शृण्वन् भूयो भूयो हे परमिहितुः ॥ ३ ॥ लीलाश्रवणतो वरं मां भिक्षु
 स्य न वेदिति ॥ नक्तास्त्वसंख्याशृण्वन्ति तस्या मृबकुशो विनो ॥ ४ ॥ अप्राप्नुवंत्यसंयत्नानतव व
 दकारणं ॥ वित्तमिडिङ्गं कृत्वा मम श्रीमात्महो मभुः ॥ ५ ॥ समयमानमुखं लीजसा मुग्धमुवा
 च मां ॥ शृण्वन्ति ये भगवतः पूर्णस्य परमेश्वरः ॥ ६ ॥ धन्यां लीलां महाभागानतेषां तन्मवेदया
 अवश्यमेव न वितातेषां तत्प्राप्तिरंजसा ॥ ७ ॥ परंतु सा विजनेन यतो वक्तुं मुखदमी ॥ कस्याः श्र
 वणमेवेह मां प्रवृत्तितनूतन ॥ ८ ॥ तन्न दम्यस्व संते मीयेतु न स्मादवाप्नुयुः ॥ तन्न दम्यदपीहे ते
 जनते क्षिप्रमेवेते ॥ ९ ॥ इदं कृतं मुखदम्याधिनिर्गतं मधुरं ज्ञं ॥ अहमापीयपीयूषं तमह
 धं कृपाणवम् ॥ १० ॥ यदवोचो महाराज तन्न दम्यदिति मतो ॥ तस्मां बोधय किं तन्न मज्जोकुलेश्वर

A photo-copy of a page of the fourteenth
 part of the Kallola of Kalyana Bhatta

(By Courtesy of Anhilaxmi Library, Nadiad)

The method of explanation is easy and touching. Teaching of the philosophical principles is generally dry and require critical acumen on the part of the listeners, most of whom do not possess that faculty. GO knew this. As a true preceptor, he understood the psychology of people, that they do not like to listen to dry teachings of the scriptures. He also knew that knowledge should be imparted with an abiding interest. Hence, he adopted a method which was helpful in bringing home to the listeners the principles of religion. He explained the principles with adequate illustrations and by the use of allegories, and what too with humour.¹⁵ He was a mine of tales and anecdotes & through them he imparted the knowledge of religious principles. He gave illustrations from the BG, the sub, and the Mahābhārata & gave ingenious interpretations. A good example of such precepts is the story of two jewels, brought in the court of a king. Through this story, he explains the greatness or the smallness of persons.¹⁶ A devotee has to cultivate the spirit of a 'pativrata'. This is explained by the example of Gāndhārī.¹⁷

15. Vide the हांसीप्रसंग in the Vara-vākyāmrta & श्रीगोकुलनाथजीना हास्यप्रसंगी edited by Shri Dinakarkara.

16. Vide Varavākyāmrta : Anugraha Vol. XI-12, P. 470.

17. Cf. Vara Vākyāmrta : पतिव्रतानी वत प्रसंग ६१.

Similarly, he explains the real form of worldly existence (saṃsāra) by means of a metaphor. He says that the 'saṃsāra' is a tree, the family is its branches, and happiness and misery are the fruits, etc.¹⁸ Some of his teachings are in very small sentences, like aphorisms, & could easily be remembered.¹⁹

The language of explanation is very simple and colloquial and hence we find, in the Vac, as in the Vārtas, some uniformity of language, although, at places there are differences in spelling and forms; but that may be due to the scribes. The Vac are in Vrajabhāṣā and are later translated into Gujarati. They provide examples of colloquial ~~gen~~ tongue of the 17th century of the Vikrama Era. Most of the followers who look down the Vac, were not highly educated and, therefore, there is no respect ^{for} of spelling and purity of language. In some of the Vac many words are nasalised, which is a trait of the people of the south-west of Saurashtra and therefore it can be said that such Vac might have been taken down by those hailing from the south-west of Saurashtra.

Through the Vac, GO taught the Vaiṣṇavas, the true form of the Puṣṭimārga. It would not be an exaggeration to say that such a method of teaching,

18. Vide '24 Vac', No.1. Vide also Anugraha Vol. XII, 12, P.487, and also VS Vol.IX - 1, P.8.

19. Vide appendix No.9.

appeared more to the mind of the listners rather than the great scriptures and that the Vac gave the Vaisnavas all the necessary knowledge of Religion and Philosophy in general and the Puṣṭimārga in particular. We quote a few of them as specimen:

(१) वस्त्रधार भगवदर्थ करे तो ते बाधक नथी। जेम महाप्रसादमां धी होय ते जीभने स्पर्शकरतुं नथी, पण वासणने स्पर्श करे छे।²⁰

(२) एक बात प्राज्ञपतिजीए श्रीमुखे कही जो - वैष्णव कीं पांच बात शरीर तें न करनी। क्रोध न करतों। निद्रा तजनी। आलस्य न करनी। अवैष्णव के हाथ की न लेनी, अपने मार्ग की होय ताके हाथ को लेनी। स्वामीपनी न करनी, करे तो भ्रष्ट होय। जैसे कोई भगवदीय कहे ते सर्वथा करनी।²¹

(३) उत्तम भगवदीयनो संग होय तेना संगनी चाबुक लागती रहे तो तेने बाधक थवा न पामे, नही तो तेने आवश्यक बाधक थाय।²²

(४) एक बाधक झा छे, हुं तो योग्य थई गयो। जाणवा करवामां बाई बाकी रह्युं नथी, ह्वी अभिमानकर्मा करे। ए दोष-दोष-धणीज बाधक छे।²³

(५) सेवक धर्म अरु भक्त धर्म मध्ये अंतर बौद्धोत हैं। सेवक की प्रवर्त धर्म के विषे होये। भक्त और भक्त की प्रवर्त स्वरूप के विषे।²⁴

20. S'rī M.V. Gandhi's collections of the Vac:

Prasanga No.27

21. Cf.VS Vol.II-1,P.2 & also Anugraha Vol.XXII-2,P.23.

22. Anugraha Vol. XI-12,P.482.

23. Ibid P.483.

24. Vara-vākya-mṛta : Part 42: संस्कृतना प्रसंग

(६) इन्द्रियोने वश राखे मन पवित्र अने कौमल राखे, अने उच्च उत्तम नीतिथी धननी संग्रह करे, पण ते पोताना उदर अर्थे नहि, पण भगवान अने अगवदीयनी प्रसन्नतार्थ ग्रहण करे। महाप्रसाद थोडो ले अने एक विचारे के जो वधारे लईश तो आळस तथा निद्रा वधारे अने तेथी श्रीठाकोरजीनी सेवामां घणो अंतराय पडशे।

(७) अब वैष्णव वे वनस्पतय इति श्रुतेः ताते काष्ठ वैष्णव हैं, ताते एहु माला प्रशस्त हे। याने शरणमंत्र, निवेदन मंत्र के उपदेश पीछे काष्ठकी माला देत हे। वैष्णवत्वात् भगवदी संग दीयो। वैष्णव संग ते भक्ति की वृद्धि होत है।

(८) वली एक वार कह्युं जे, असोदाजीये दामणी बांध्या त्यारे, स्वाभिनीजीने संतोष होतो हवो। त्यारे जेदेवजी ये कह्युं जे बांधे संतोष थाय तो स्नेहमांहां हाण नही? त्यारे श्री प्राणनाथजी में एहेनी भाव कह्यो। जे मुख्य भक्तनकुं सदैह उपनी जे, ईतने दामण बंधता नही सो हमारी भुजलतामांहां क्यों आवीगे। ए सदैह हतो। पछे वीचार्यो जे, दामण बंधायें हे तो हमारी भुजलतामें आवीगे। एतदजनित संतोष भयो।

In these Vac, we find GO's method of imparting instruction and his original way of interpreting

25. Vide Kollola XIV - Taraṅga 4.

26. Vide Anugraha Vol. XX-5, P. 7 (taken from the vara - vākyaṁrta).

27. Vide S'rī Gokulaśaṭhajīnām Vac (C.M. Vaidya's MS) P. 60.

incidents and his ethical outlook. Through them, as through the comm, we find in GO a critical and analytical scholar. At some places, he makes paradoxical statements, but later explains them in an interesting way. He says that whosoever worships the Lord will not realize Him, but those, who do not worship him, will realize him, and he later explains that the worshipper who does not know that he worships and ~~its~~ is not proud of his worship of the Lord, will realize Him.²⁸ Similarly while explaining the stanza सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य (Gītā XVIII - 66), he gives an original interpretation, which is in line with the doctrine of Sūddhādvaita. He says that the Lord has six qualities (aiś'varya etc.) & if a devotee does not mind those qualities, but approaches the Lord (Dharmī) with the feeling of love alone, then the Lord accepts him.²⁹ In like manner, he explains why worship of the Lord is to be done with motherly affection (bālābhāvena). He says that a child would not be pleased

28. Cf. "जे भगवद्भजन नहीं करता तेने भगवत्प्राप्ति थसे, जे भगवद्भजन करे छे तेने नही थाय "..... जे भजन करीने पण अभिमान करतो नथी, ते माटे तेने भगवत्प्राप्ति थसे। - Anugraha Vol. XI-12, P. 482.

29. Cf. पुरुषोत्तमके छ गुण हैं.... ए छ थी अतिरिक्त थे एहेने त्याज्य करीने शरण आवे स्नेह करी ए धरमीने ज्य जांजे बीजे एको प्रकारे जांणीने नही अनुसरे एक स्नेह करी अनुसरे।

- Kāñkarolī MS Hindi Section No. 141/3 (dated 1693 V.S.)

with jewels, but it can be pleased with an ordinary thing like knocking with an iron chain. As there is no law in a child's behaviour, so is the case with the Lord.³⁰

(iv) Estimate of the Vac literature:

As stated above, the Vac form a considerably big part of GO's works. They have brought him a great credit as a religious preacher. Like the Mālāprasaṅga, the Vac have also made him well known in the sampradāya. In the Vac, as in the his long com on the SS, etc., we find him a true exponent of the Puṣṭimārga, and advocate of the Frameyamārga. He talked on various topics connected with the Puṣṭimārgīya code of conduct, preached in a humorous way the doctrines of the sect and answered the queries raised by the Vaiṣṇavas, whom he prized most and gave him a very high place, even equal to the Gosvāmīs.³¹ His habit of such talks shows how he kept himself in intimate contact with the Vaiṣṇavas and shared his leisure with them in a purposeful way. This fact drew many men and women around him. In one of the incidents related in Kākā Vallabhajī's Vac, the son tells his father that GO's Vac were equal to twelve

~~thousand books.~~³²

30. Cf. श्रीठाकुरजी की बालककी उपमा देत है, ता को कहा भाव? जो बालक तो सोना के मणिमणि के खिलौना ते न रीझी। और किवाडकी सांझ खटखटाये ते रीझी। यासों नियायक कह्यो नाहीं।-
-VS Vol. I-3, P. 3.

31. In one of the Vac, it is related that Viṭṭhalarāyājī, GO's second son, left the Vaiṣṇavas behind & returned earlier from Agra, whereupon GO said to him, "If you left the Vaiṣṇavas behind, what did you bring with you?"

thousand BGs.³² The Vac are helpful to the Vaisṇavaś masses in making their devotional attitude very deep and firm and in understanding the spirit of the Puṣṭimārga. If a Vaisṇava reads only the Vac, even then, he would be able to get necessary knowledge of religion and ethics. Of course, it should be stated that GO did ask the Vaisṇavas to read the scriptures, the works of VL and VT.

Some of the Vac are important from the historical point of view. They give information about some incidents of the liŷes of VL and VT. For example, it is said that VL was eleven years old when the (Kankābhiseka' ceremony was performed in the court of the King Kṛṣṇadeva. But in one of the Vac, it is said that the event took place, when VL toured India for the second time. This shows that the event did not take place when he was eleven years old, but when he was more than twentyfive years old.³³

32. Cf. "बाबा तुम कहो तो सही में एक श्री वल्लभजी की बातमें ऐसे बाहुर हजार भागवत बहे जात हैं। -

- Kākā Vallabhajī's Vac (ed. L.C. Desai), P.1.

33. Vide Vasantarāma S'āstrī: Puṣṭimārgano Itihāsa; P.27. Vide also S'uddhādvaita & Bhaktimārtanda Vol.I, Nos. 1 to 5.

S'rī M.C. Parekh evaluates the Vac in the following words:

"Perhaps his most important contribution to the Sāṃpradāyic literature is his vacanāmṛtas. Suffice it here to say that they make a most interesting and instructive piece of religious literature. They are on all sorts of subjects, albeit relating to spiritual life, and they throw much light on the belief and practices of the Vallabha church. They reveal an original insight on his part into the things of the spirit together with a characteristic way of saying things..... He makes a free use of parables and allegories, which is a new feature in the teaching of this Sāṃpradāya. He is besides, a man of rich humour, which breaks out everywhere in these sayings."³⁴ ?

A student of S'uddhādvaita literature will find that the above quotation needs no comment, except that, it is not an exaggeration, but a truthful appreciation of GO's Vac.

34. M.C. Parekh : S'rī VL (ed. 1943), P.306.

Chapter III (e)

Letters, Padas and Miscellaneous Works

(1) Letters of GO:

GO had a considerably vast following during his life-time. His disciples used to write letters to him and sought guidance from him as regards religious problems and desired to have inspiration from him. GO on his part, replied to such letters and inspired his disciples to sustain religious fervour and tenacity. References to some of the letters are found in the works of Gopāldās Vyāravālā and of Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa and in some Vacanāmṛtas. Mahanabhāi of Broach, who was staying mostly in Agra, was in his close contact and exchange of letters between GO and Mahanabhāi was usual. But unfortunately, hardly a few of his letters are available to-day. It is possible that some letters, in GO's own handwriting, may be lying with the devout followers of GO, known as Bharucīs, but they are not shown to others, as they (Bharucīs) consider them to be 'svarūpātmaka'. However, I have come across the following letters during my search for GO's works:

- (1) One letter¹ is quoted in the work, called
-
1. It is published in the periodical Puṣṭisudhā (Vol.III No.8-9, P.37) and also in a work, named Bhararuci Nīmadia Kalaha (P.180), published by S'rī Utsavlal S. Parikh of Kapadvanj, and also in Anugraha Vol.13 Nos.11-12. The letter is very important and is, therefore, quoted in full.

Gokules'apura, by Gopāldās Vyāravālā. It, so happened that Yadupati, grandson of Bāṅkṛṣṇajī once went to Bhelasā. He questioned the the Vaiṣṇavas, why they initiated people, with the sight of a letter. So, they wrote to GO about the incident and requested him to explain their stand. Go wrote the following letter in reply.

स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभानां भटकल्याणइन्द्रभाणक्षेवदासश्यामदास-
 सिंधजी नादरमल्ल जयराम परमेश्वरदास मोहनदास हीरामणि प्रभृतिष्वाशिषाः ।
 शमिद् भावत्कमाशास्यहे। अपरं च। सदा श्रीगोवर्द्धनशः स्मर्तव्यः। किञ्च
 श्रीमदाचार्यसंबन्धिभ्यः साक्षान्नामग्रहणेन पत्रद्वारा स्वप्नद्वारा वा
 सेवकद्वारा नामग्रहणेन मार्गसंबन्धादवश्यं भगवदंगीकारौ भवत्येव नात्र संदेहः।
 अत एवोक्तं दशमि "स्वयं समुत्तीर्य सुदुस्स्तरं धूमन् भवार्णवं भीममदभ्रसौहृदाः।
 भवत्पदाभीरूहनावमत्र ते निषाय याताः सदनुग्रहो भवान् " इति अत्र
 भगवत्पदाभीजस्य भक्तिमार्गत्वेन तद्रूपस्वसंप्रदायप्रवर्तनमेव तन्निधानम्।
 तत्प्रवर्तित - संप्रदाये प्रवृत्तानां तादृश साधनाभावेऽपि साक्षादनुग्रहीतेषु
 पक्षापातेन तत्संबन्धिषु अनुग्रहं करोषीत्यभिप्रायेणोक्तं सदनुग्रह इति।
 सत्स्वनुग्रहो यस्येत्यर्थः। अस्मिन्नर्थे प्रामाण्यार्थं भगवत्संमतिरेव दर्शिता
 भगवानित्यनेन। तात्संप्रदायस्थानां तरणावश्यं भावाय नौत्वनिरूपणम्।
 तेनानायासेन भवाब्धि - तरणम् सूचितम्। बाहुभ्यां तरणे ह्यायासो
 नावा तरणे न तथेत्येतत्सर्वं विवरणे पितृचरणीर्विवृतमिति नात्र लिख्यते।
 भगवद्भजने परमिमं व्यवस्था। तदर्थः सुबोधिण्यां विवृतः। तेन येषां
 पत्रद्वारा नामग्रहणे सन्देहस्ते तथा बोधनीयाः यथा येषां संदेह उत्थितः।
 तदनंतरं तद्वृत्तान्तो लेखनीयः। किमधिकं मार्गस्वरूपवित्पु।

The letter raises an important question, viz., who is qualified to initiate people into the Puṣṭimārga? The Brahma Sambandha Ceremony, for initiating people into the religious fold, was originally performed by VL and then, by his two sons. No example is so far traced, before the times of GO, where Vaiṣṇavas, apart from the Gosvāmīs, were allowed to do the Brahmasambandha ceremony. The 252 Vārtās inform that Cācājī² (Cācā Hitaharivams'ajī) was giving 'nāma' to the people, i.e. he was performing the Nāma-grahana ceremony, and accepting people into the Puṣṭimārga, but he was not performing the Nivedana i.e. Brahma Sambandha Ceremony. Therefore, the question, raised by Yadupati, as regards initiation into the Puṣṭimārga by the Vaiṣṇavas, by the sight of a letter, was quite natural. Through this letter, GO admits of other ways of Nāma-grahana, but there is no reference to 'nivedana'. The ways of Nāma-grahana are these :

- (i) By the progeny (Sambandhibhyah) of S'rī Ācāryajī i.e. VL.
- (ii) By the sight of a letter (of course, of some Gosvāmī).

2. Vide also Niṣa Vārtā Prasāṅga 28 (L.C. Desai edition) where it is stated that Seth Puruṣottama was also authorised to perform 'nāma'-ceremony.

(iii) By a dream (in which a divine order is experienced).

(iv) By a disciple (of some Gosvāmī).

As regards the fourth way, GO has not trodden a new path, for Cācājī was doing so. The second and the third ways are newly suggested.³ The following points need be noted in this connection:

(i) In the mediæval times, long travels were difficult and a few Gosvāmīs were undertaking such travels. In such circumstances, it was not possible for them to initiate people living in distant quarters, and therefore, very few people could enter into the religious fold of Puṣṭimārga. GO, therefore, allowed disciples to initiate people and accepted them into the Puṣṭimārga through letters, when such disciples were not available. Thus, he had shown a practical way, for the propagation of the sect.

(ii) Secondly, as regards Nāma-grahana, GO puts a Gosvāmī and a ~~vai~~ Vaisnava on the same level.

It should be here noted that Nāma-grahana ceremony is even to-day, performed by the chiefs (Mukhiyājīs) of the Puṣṭimārgīya temples; and at some

3. It should be noted that there is a reference to nivedana by a letter of VT in the story of Hanidāsa. Vide H. Tandan: Vārtā Sāhitya P.586.

places by some Vaiṣṇavas also, who are allowed to do so, by the Gosvāmīs.

(iii) Thirdly, to uphold his doctrine, he quotes authority from the BG. It appears that he attaches greater importance to the BG than traditions and the Prasthāna-trayī. He does not cling to traditions only, but lays emphasis on the purpose of the ceremony and the cardinal doctrine of the Sampradāya, viz., prapatti i.e. complete dedication. In this respect, he follows, I think, VL who has stated that कृष्णसिवापरं वीक्ष्य... जिज्ञासुरादरात् and स्वयं-पूतिं कृत्वा हरिं भजेत्।⁴ GO held a liberal attitude towards the observance of conventions and traditions.

(iv) Fourthly, the letter does not refer to the 'nivedana' ceremony, it uses the word 'nāma-grahana'. Now, in the Puṣṭimārga, 'nāma' and 'nivedana' are two different ceremonies. It appears that some followers of GO might be performing 'nivedana' ceremonies and hence Yadupati might have raised the question of 'nivedana' ceremony by the Vaiṣṇavas. Today, the Bharuci Vaiṣṇavas do not approach a Gosvāmī for the 'nivedana' ceremony, but go to some other Bharucīs and ~~reper~~ perform the ceremony before the Pādukās of GO by reading the Gadyamantra and/or a small poem, by Gopāldās, translating into the

4. TDN - II, St. 227 & 228.

Vernacular, the spirit of the mantra. How far this is admissible according to Puṣṭimārgīya tradition, is a point demanding authoritative discussion.

It is not possible to find out the date of the letter, as the date of Yadupati's visit to Bhelasā is not traced. It can be said that the letter might have been written after 1663 V.S., which is Yadupati's birth date.

(2) The contents of a copper plate are published in Anugraha: ⁵

"श्रीनाथजी सहाय " श्री कृष्णः

श्रीगोकुलनाथी जयती (ति) स्वहस्ताक्षर श्रीगोकुलनाथजी
स्वस्ति श्रीगोस्वामि श्रीगोकुलनाथजी वचनात्... निज
सेवक जादोजी व्यास ब्राह्मण दीक्षाबालकौ नाम सुनायवेकी जाग्या (जा)
दिनी, बाराणसी प्रवृत्ति (प्रभृति) के वैष्णव को नाम सुनावे
ठाकुरजीकी सेवा और पादुकाजी इनके माथे पधराये ॥ श्री ॥
श्री संवत् १६६२ मिति मार्गशीर्ष कृष्ण ११ सोम्य वासरे श्री ॥

The copper-plate endorses the contents of GO's letter to the Vaiṣṇavas of Bhelasā, quoted above. In this way, GO allowed Vaiṣṇavas to perform nāma-ceremony in the distant corners of India.

S'rī Jātās'ankara

5. It is noted by/ S'astri that the copper - plate is today found in the home-temple of Gokuladas of Kāśī. Vol., IV, No. 10, P. 314.

(3-4) GO had written two letters⁶, one to Ratanabāī (alias Bahenagīrāja) and the other to her friend, who were both devout followers of GO. It is said that Ratanabāī⁷ had some mystic experiences in a dream. She considered GO as her saviour and used to write letters to GO. The letters in question, are written by GO in reply to their letters. Through these replies, GO asked them to remain free from all anxieties and have full faith in the Lord.⁸ He consoled them in the miserable turmoil of their lives.

(5) One letter, ascribed to GO, is published in the periodical Anugraha.⁹ Its MS is preserved in the temple of Madanamohanajī at Ahmedabad. It is addressed to the Vaisnavas Murāri, Baladeva, and others. The date of the letter is not mentioned, but S'rī K. K. Shastri has surmised that it might have been written 1650 and 1696 V.S. The letter enjoins the Vaisnavas to go on muttering the eight syllabic mantra and to avoid anxieties and keep faith in GOD.

6. The letters are published in Anugraha Vol.XXI (1960 A.D.) No.11.

7. Vide Anugraha Vol.XXI, No.11, P.1 to 24 for details about her life.

8. Cf. अब तूम काहु बातकी चिंता मति करो। ठाकुर सब वीचारी है।
ताते सब भली होइगी । - Ibid, P.16.

9. Anugraha Vol.XXIII No.3(March, 1963).

(6) A photo copy of GO's letter¹⁰ is published in the Vārtā Sāhitya of Hariharnath Tandan. It is addressed to some Pohakaradāsa (?). There is nothing noteworthy about it. The writer asked to help a person who had approached him for help to fulfil some social obligation like a marriage. The date of the letter is not mentioned. It is possible that the letter in question may not be in GO's own handwriting, but may be in the handwriting of a scribe,^{for} GO did not ordinarily mention himself as Gokules'a.

(ii) Padas and Dohās of GO:

S'rī Giridharjī (1854 - 1933 V.S.) says that GO composed 'Kirtanas' and mentioned himself as Vallabha therein¹¹. Shri Dvarkadas Parikh prepared a list of Puṣṭimārgīya poets of Vrajabhāṣā and therein he stated that GO had composed some Dohās and Padas.¹²

10. Vide the art-plate, between pages 638 and 639, under which it is stated that the MS of the handwriting was obtained from Shri Vasantram Shastri.

11. Cf. और श्रीगोकुलनाथजीने कीर्तन किये हे तामें वल्लभकी छाप धरी हे।

- - - - S'rī Giridharalālajī Mahārājake 120
Vac, P.59.

12. Vide VS Vol.VI - 2 P.22, पुष्टिमार्गीय व्रजभाषा के कवियोंकी ग्रन्थ सूचि (द्वा.परीक्ष) and also Vol.XI-4-P.16: व्रजभाषाके पुष्टिमार्गीय भक्त कवियोंकी ग्रंथसूचि। &also Vol.I-4-P.13.

Mis'ra Bandhu Vinoda also mentions GO a poet.¹³ A collection of Padas etc. named S'rī Vallabha Vam's'a Padya Vacanāmṛta (Part I) also says that GO had composed many padas and Dohas.¹⁴

These references show that GO composed some padas, Dohas etc. But hardly a few padas and Dohas are available to-day. His famous pada is as follows:

बैठे हरि राधासंग कुंज भवन अपने रंग ।

क सर मुरली अधर धरे सारंग मुख गार्द ॥¹⁵

Another pada is about the ten principles (marma) of ^{the} Pustimarga¹⁶. It is in Gujarati and at the end, the name Vallabha is not mentioned; the last line (14 मरुदल्लुभ निभर करुणा करे, सोताना दलनी कंठु लाएथ) refers S'rī VL and not to Vallabha i.e. GO.

It is said that Govindasvāmī, one of the Aṣṭacāpa poets, could not finish the dhamarapada, the famous one: श्री गोवर्धन राय लाला and passed away.

13. Cf. इनका कविता काल संवत् १६२४ से प्रारंभ होना प्रतीत होता है।- Ganesh Vihari Mishra etc. - Mishrabandhu Vinoda, P.249.

14. Cf. आपे भाषायां धौळ पद घणां कर्षा^{छे}, P.37.

15. Ibid, P.40.

16. Ibid, P.37-40.

GO finished the pada by adding, "यह विधि हौरी खेल ही
ब्रजवासीन संग लगाय - etc."¹⁷

Four padas of Vallabha are published in the
Mahāprabhu - stuti - muktāvali (Part II)¹⁸, published
by Puṣṭimārgīya Pustakālaya of Nadiad, (1942 A.D.).
It is difficult to ascertain that these four padas
are from the pen of GO; for there are many Gosvāmīs
whose name was Vallabha, such as Kākā Vallabhajī.¹⁹

A kavita titled भक्तन के प्रतिपाल is
published in Anugraha Vol.13, No.11-12 (1950 A.D.) is
stated that they are written by GO, but the source is
not mentioned by the procurer S'rī L.C. Desai.

17. Cf. श्री गोविंद स्वामी के कीर्तन.... साढे बारह हे तामें "श्री
गोवर्धन राय लाला" ए आधी कहे,... तब श्री गुसाईजी आप आज्ञा
किये जो गोविंददास ऐसे क्यों रही गए ?... देहा प्यास रह्यो नही सो
लीलामें प्राप्त भये। फेरि श्रीगोकुलनाथजीने तुक पुरी करी ॥ -
- S'rī Giridharajī ke 120 Vacanāmṛta, P.60.

18. *Vide* श्रीवृंदावनचंद वदनरुचि 1- P. 52

श्री कृपासिंधु श्री लक्ष्मण नंद.... 1- P.79

भरौंसी श्रीवल्लभजीको राखी । - P.100

वागधीश श्रीमहाप्रभुजीको जपना । - P.110.

19. *Vide* Vams'āvalī (ed.1943 A.D.) P.231.

All these padas etc. are either descriptive or dedicative and didactic. Mostly, they are full of two sentiments (bhāvas), dinatā and ās'raya. There is nothing extraordinary about them. From the point of view of poetic value, they cannot be rated very high.

There are a number of MSS²⁰ of GO's Vacanāmṛtas in Gujarat and Rajasthan. In several Vacanāmṛtas, there are dōhās generally with the words एक बार नी बात चाली ते बार प्रसन्न यईने आ दुहो कह्यो जे.... etc. It is difficult to ascertain whether the dōhās are his own compositions or they are quotations. Some of the dōhās are as follows:

(1) तिस्र लागी तिसकी तिस बिन तीस न जाय।
आनि मिलावो तिसकीं तो ^{तिस} देखें जाय ॥ 21

20. There is a MS in Kāṅkarolī (Hindi No.85/5) titled, Kirtana - Samgraha - Rekhatā which contains padas and rekhatās of Vallabhaji. It is difficult to ascertain whether the author is GO or any one else. One Rekhatā is as follows:

समझ के प्यारीकीई दिल हमसो लगावें ।

ताबेदार उसके उन उसका ही गुन गावें ॥१॥ मुराद पूरे उसकी...

21. This is also found in Vara-vākyāmṛta - ratna kos'a - XXII - 22.

(2) विरह अग्नि अंतर ली सुमिर प्रीतिके बिन।

पूरव प्रीति विचारि करि वर्ण बुझावत २२ नैन॥ 22

(3) शेऊ ॥?॥ वेली प्रेमकी सींचत ही कुमलाय।

थड करे फल प्रगटे, फल कहे जड जाय ॥ 23

(4) सरस तें सरस शब्दकी चोट, समझे चतुर नर जानें
बोट बोट तें कठिन भ्रुकुटिकी ओर। प्रेमकी फंद कहा बड छोट॥ 24

(5) सुकोस बेकरंभयो हि धों काहां गंभीर ।

जहां ते ए दोलायनां ले ले आवत तार ॥ 25

(6) हरिमुष्ण निरणि नागरी नागरी नार ।

कमलनयन के कमल बदन पर वारिज वारिज बार॥

(7) चंदन घावर पांझ समान ॥

कपरा चेहेरें कीऊ कीऊ जान॥ 25

22. VS Vol.I.1.P.1 to 3.

23. Vide S'rī Gokulanathājīnaṁ Vacanāmṛta, Dayārām
Library Register No.83 Potalā No.42.

24. The words in the MS are not understood clearly.

25. Do has no 4 to 7 are taken from Mr. Kṛṣṇalāla's
Dalāla's MS dated 1929 V.S. Vide also Anugraha Vol.X-

Nos.11-12 Tattvārtha - Mohana P.429-30 where one complete
is mentioned.

In the collection of MSS in the Devakīnandana Pustakālaya of
Kāmavana (Dist. Bharatpur -Rajasthan) there is one MS in
Vrajabhāṣā, titled धील श्रीगोकुलेशजी के (incomplete) but
the MS library, being in disorder and there being no access
to it, it was not possible for me to read it and hence
nothing can be said about it here.

In the Vara-vākyāmrta Ratna Kos'a, there are 84 divisions, out of which the 22nd is पददोहाकवितानां वचन, and which has 40 prasaṅgas (incidents). It contains some stanzas, some of which may possibly be GO's own composition and some of which may be quotations from other poets.

Tradition and some works mention GO as a poet, hence it is not impossible that GO wrote such Dohās. He was a good talker and had instantaneously composed some Dohās. The above Dohās are enigmatic and possess strikingness.

(iii) Miscellaneous Works:

A MS of

(a) Ekādas'ī - Nirṇaya :- / S'rī Kṛṣṇalālā Dalāla of Baroda contains GO's Ekādas'ī Nirṇaya. There is a difference of opinion between the S'aivites and the Vaiṣṇavas about the observance of Ekādas'ī. The Vaiṣṇavas are asked to observe Ekādas'ī on that day which has not even the slightest part or tinge of das'amī²⁶ (tenth day). The Ekādas'ī Nirṇaya contains stanzas, about the observance of Ekādasī, from different Purāṇas, such as Skandā, Viṣṇudharmottara etc. There is nothing original about it.

26. Cf. जो वैष्णव होय सो दशमी विद झकादशी न करे, कदाचित् करे तो बाकी वैष्णवता सर्व जाय ।।

- MS P.186.

This work along with the Puranic references collected in defence of Tulasimālā and Tilaka, found in the seventh Kallola, shows how deeply GO was interested in collecting scriptural authorities in defence of his stand.

(b) Works on Phala Jyotis :- Two works, known as (Prayāna muhūrta-) Vacanāmṛta and Pras'nāvalī, are traditionally ascribed to GO. The first is also called S'rī Gokulanāthajī kṛ Vacanāmṛta. It is particularly used to find the auspicious day and time for starting on a journey. Along with the fruit of the prahara ($\frac{1}{8}$ part of the day), the direction is also mentioned. Only twelve days of the lunar months are mentioned in the table and it is said that the auspiciousness or otherwise of the thirteenth, fourteenth and the full moon day is to be seen according to the third, ^{fourth} and fifth days of the month; and the amāvāsya is to be avoided for the purpose of journey. Here the months are to be taken as those followed in the region of Vraja and the days according to the Vaisṇavīta calculation. Many followers of GO follow it with great faith.

We may take an instance. A person wants to start for some place on the third day of the dark half of the month of Mārgas'īrṣā (according to Gujarati Calendar). Then, he should refer to the column of the third day of the month of Posa. The fruit is कार्य सिद्ध धाम,
अर्थ परिपूर्ण धाम, सारी बात संभलाय।

So, it is suggested that the person concerned would succeed in his undertaking. If the prahara and the direction are to be found for the success of the undertaking, the seeker should do the work in the first three praharas and in the East or the North direction.

In Indian calendars (Pañchāṅgas), it is also given as Gorakha Āṅka or Prayāna Muhūrta. Some people believe that it is composed by Gorakhanātha, the celebrated Yogi of Nāth Sampradāya. It is difficult to determine the authorship of this work. It is possible that GO might have come across such a traditional table (koṭhā) and have asked his followers to follow it. The word Vacanāmṛta leads to such a surmise for whatever he had said, was taken as a Vacanāmṛta.

The second work is titled S'rī Gokulanāthajī kī Pras'anāvalī.²⁷ It begins as follows:

27. I have not so far found it printed anywhere. I got its MS from the Kalyāṇarāyajī Mandira of Baroda. The MS is of the size of 6" x 5" and has 14 leaves.

There is one MS named श्रीगोकुलनाथजी की प्रश्नावली, (see MS list P.418) in Devakīnandana Pustakālaya of Kāmavāna (Rajasthan). I had no access to it, as the MSS were in disorder on account of rains.

श्री कृष्णाय नमः। श्री गोपीजन वल्लभाय नमः अथ श्री
गोकुलनाथजी महाराज की प्रणवावली लिखते। देखिये की यह विधि
है कि भीतर ६४ कोष्ट हैं उनमें से एक कोष्ट पे उंगरिया धरनी उंगरिया
के नीचे जौनसी अंक होय ताही अंक की फल भीतर देखिये तैनों विश्वास
सब तो सर्व कार्य सिद्धि होय।

Then there is a table of 64 (8 x 8) numbers:
111, 112, 113, 114, 121, 122, 123, 124 etc. when a person
wants to know whether he would succeed or fail in an
undertaking, he has to put his finger on any one of the
64 numbers and see the fruit against the number, mentioned
in the main part of the work. For example, a person puts
his finger in the column of the number 311, and sees the
fruit mentioned against the number, he would find the
following line written against the number:

३११ - जो काज तुम चितवत हो सो होयगो कुलदेव की
शरण सिद्धि होयगी। ३३

So, it is suggested that the person concerned should
proceed with the work, ~~after~~ after adoring the family
deity.

Such works are said to be composed according
to the principle of Phala - Jyotis. It is said that
there is nothing like astronomical and/or astrological
calculations in such works. I have heard that such
tables are found in some jain works also and some
Musalman priests, too, have such tables. Modern mind
would think that such phalādes'a is based on mere chance.

It is also said that such fables are formed on the basis of the science of Numerology. Every planet has a definite number given to it. E.g. the sun is given the numbers, 1 and 4, the moon 2 and 7, Jupiter 3, Mercury 5, Mars 9, Saturn 8, and Venus 6. So, when we choose the number 311 in the table, the total of numerals in the number is $3+1+1=5$, and, therefore, it has connection ^{with} Mercury. ²⁸

It is curious to find that S'rī GO is said to be the author of such astrological works. The question to ~~on~~ my mind in this connection is this: if complete and profound faith in God is the supreme principle of Pustimārga, how such muhūrta-finding and following it are ~~complete~~ compatible with the Pustimārgīya spirit? I think it is just following the age-old tradition.

28. One such Pras'nāvalī is printed in વર્ષ પ્રબોધ અને અષ્ટાંગનિમિત્ત (Gujarati) of S'rī Megha Vijaya Gani (Published in 1927 by Master Popatlal S. Shah of Bhāvnagar) and it is titled as શ્રીગીતમી મહાવિદ્યા । It has 27 columns (3 horizontal x 9 vertical) and 27 numbers: 111, 331, 132, (first line) 113, 323, 222 (second line) etc. and the fruit (in some more details than the Pras'nāvalī of S'rī Gokulanāthajī) is mentioned against each number. This shows that such question tables were in ~~go~~ vogue in ancient and medieval times.

(iv) Gorakha - Kundali:

There is a MS²⁹, in Kāṅkarolī, titled Gorakha Kundalī. On the first page it is written गोकुलनाथस्येदं. It begins in this way:

श्रीगणेशायनमः। अथ गौर्ण कुंडलिष्यते॥ नामि विष्णो
कुंडली सर्पके आकारि स्थित है।

The Language of the MS is incorrect.

I surmise that the words गोकुलनाथस्येदं mean that the work belongs to GO, and does not mean that it is written by him. It is difficult to ascertain as regards his authorship of the work in question, in the absence of any other reliable data.

This work and the Gorakh-āṅka lead to one ^{inference} fact that GO had some knowledge of the Nātha Sampradāya, or he was interested in Nātha-literature and had contact with some Nāthas.

29. Vide Hindi MS No.107/17. Its size is 11½" x 5¼" and it has 5 pages.

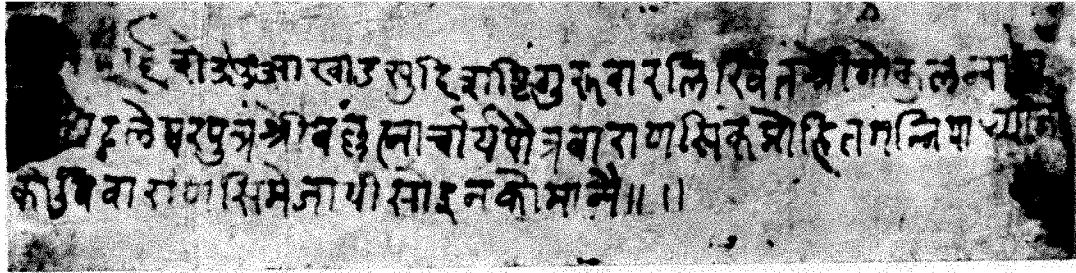
30. The kundalini is said to be residing in between the private parts. Reads: यह (मूलाधार चक्र) मेरुदंडके नीचे तथा गुह्य और लिंग के मध्यमें रहता है..... इस चक्रमें एक त्रिकोण आकार है, जिसमें कुंडलिनी, वेगस नर्व

(Vagus Nerve) निवास करती है। - Dr.Ramkumar Verma:

Kabir kā Rahasyavāda(ed. 1951) P.77. Also, see

Hazariprasad Dwivedi: Kabir P.44 (Third Edition 1950).

This work states that it resides in the navel. Possibly there may be another tradition as regards the site of the Kundalini.



Sri Gokulanāthajī's handwriting as found in the handwriting-book
of his Gor in Kāśī

(By courtesy of Sri Lallubhai C. Desai)

(v) Handwriting of GO:

Handwriting of GO are seen at some places. I have seen his handwriting, (we can call it rather signature) at two places in Kapadvanj (Dist. Kaira). In the house of S'rī Utsavlal S. Parikh, a piece of paper with the word वल्लभस्य, said to have been written by S'rī GO, is kept as treasure. In the place, sacred to Bahenjīrāja, there is a MS of Subodhini, on the front page of which is written वल्लभस्य and the MS is dated 1647 V.S., the year in which, GO visited Kapadvanj.

S'rī Hanharnath Tandan has given in his thesis named Vārtā Sāhitya, a photo-print of a letter written by S'rī GO and has stated that he got it from S'rī Vasantrama Sastri, and that the letter is in GO's own handwriting.

S'rī Lallubhai C. Desai has given a photo copy³¹ of GO's handwriting in the Todaramala Smāraka Grantha. It is said that the handwriting is found in the handwriting-book of S'rī VL's Tirtha Purohit of Kāsī. In this handwriting it is curious to find that Sastri is written as S'astri and guru and gurū. In this, as well as the above^{mentioned} photoprint, the writer mentions himself as Gokules'a and Gokulanatha. GO did not mention himself as Gokulanatha. It is possible that

32. See the photo-copy on the opposite art paper.

both of them might have been written by some scribes at the behest of GO.

A letter in the handwriting of GO is found in the temple of Madanamohanajī of Ahmedabad.³²

There is a statement taken from the Pothī of Maṭṭujī Mahārāja and published in VS(Vol.III-No.1 P.17), in which it is said that GO's handwriting are found at the following places:

- (1) Gokul
- (2) Kāṅkarolī
- (3) S'rī Navanītapriyājī temple of S'rī Cīmanlālajī of Bombay.
- (4) Cāmpāsenī Vaiṣṇava Velājī

It is also said that the Gadyamatra in GO's handwriting is found in Gokul and in Broach.

In Kāṅkarolī, in the temple of S'rī Bālekṛṣṇajī handwriting of S'rī VL, S'rī VT, S'rī GO and S'rī Bālekṛṣṇajī (third son of S'rī VT) are preserved. There I have seen one page of Bālabodha in the handwriting of S'rī GO.

In an article in Venunāda,³³ there is a mention of ^{Sampradāya-}Pradīpa in GO's handwriting, but that work is not traceable to-day.

32. Vide footnote No.6.

33. Venunāda Vol. I-2 P.20.

Chapter IV

The Followers of Gokulanāthajī

or

The 'Fourth House'

(1) 'The Fourth House'.

VT had seven sons, GO was the fourth among them. It is said that the eldest son Giridharajī was the Dharmī Svarūpa and the next six sons represented the six qualities (ais'varya, Vīrya, S'rī, Yas'as, Jñāna and vairāgya) ^{of the Lord.} According to this view, GO was the yas'as svarūpa of the Lord and consequently his fame spread in far off quarters of the land. This belief seems to have taken place later. Whatever it may be, it is a recorded fact that GO was the most illustrious of the seven sons. Even VT thought very highly of him and many times consulted him on matters household as well as religious and spiritual. It is reported that he gave him (GO) his own turban and mālā during the last days of his life on this earth.¹ His

1. Cf. સોંપ્યું એહોને સર્વદા એતન્ માર્ગ સમસ્ત ॥૨૩૪॥

પહેરાવી શીકંઠમાંદાં પોતાના કંઠની માલ ॥૨૩૮॥

પાઘ પોતાની લઈએ ધરીએ બીજીને માથે ।

પોતાનું સર્વ અને સર્વસ્વ સોંપ્યું હાથે ॥ ૨૩૯ ॥

- Gopaldas: Prāgatya Siddhānta Maṅgala-30.

generous nature, his usual practice of giving discourses (called the Vac), his amiable manners and his great affection for the Vaisnavas drew many persons towards him. During his journey to Gujarat in 1646-47 V.S., he initiated a considerable number of people. The event known as mālāprasāṅga, made him more famous and a good number of persons accepted him as their guru. Besides, he lived fairly a long life of 89 years and that fact also made the number of his followers, greater than that of other Gosvāmīs. In a work named श्रीवल्लभरत्नसालम्भकतराज it is stated that the number of GO's followers was nearly 5000 in 1733 V.S.². This number is the number of the families and not of the individuals.

Because GO was the fourth son of VT, in the sect, his followers are known as the followers of the 'Fourth House' or 'Jai Jai Gokules'avalā'. They differ from the followers of the rest 'Six Houses' in respect of the forehead mark³ and in respect of the mode of worship to a certain extent.⁴

2. Vide appendix No.5.

3. Vide Chapter III (a) (i) Tilakanirnaya.

4. Vide Sevāsarvasva by Narottam Shastri of Kapadvanj for the mode of worship of the 'Fourth House'.

(ii) Two types of GO's followers:

The followers of GO form two main types or divisions: the Bharucīs and the Nīmadīās. The former are also ironically called the Pāvādīās, because they worship the wooden footwear (Pādukās) of GO. But the word Pāvādīā involves the faults of अव्याप्ति and अतिव्याप्ति because there are other vaiṣṇavas who worship the pādukās of GO and others and there ~~are~~ are the Bharucīs, who being not able to get the Pādukās, worship a part of GO's garment or his hair or his letter or only Yamunājī. The word Nīmadīā is ironically used to make an alliteration with the word Pāvādīā. The Nīmadīās are so called, because they attach much more importance to certain rules and conventions. For example, the Bharucīs would commence the spraying of the fountains in the temples, when we (human beings) feel hot in the summer, while the Nīmadīās would commence to do so only from the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha. The Bharucīs would offer a ~~quilt~~ quilt to the Lord and put the fire-place in front of the Lord, when it is cold, while the Nīmadīās would commence to do so on the 11th day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika, even if the cold season starts earlier.

It is also said that those who worship or believe in the descendents of VL (i.e. all the Gosvāmīs) are the Nīmadīās, that is, all vaiṣṇavas

minus the Bharucīs are called the Nīmadīās.⁵

(iii) The Nīmadīā Vaiṣṇavas

The Nīmadīās do not differ very much from the bulk of the Puṣṭimārgīya Vaiṣṇavas, i.e. from those belonging to the 'Six Houses'. The Nīmadīās consider all the Gosvāmīs devine, pay presents (bheta) to them and go for the Lord's dars'ana, in the temples belonging to the 'Six Houses'. But for the initiation ceremony, they approach the Gosvāmī, who occupies the seat (Gādī) at Gokul, which (seat) belongs to the 'Fourth House'. Unlike the followers of the 'Six Houses', they consider the birthdate of GO as the 'Great Festival' and celebrate it with great faith and pomp. Like the followers of the 'Six Houses', there are, among them, different types of worshippers. In the morning after bath, some followers make the different marks on the body, utter the SS or its Gujarati Translation, turn the rosary for five or more times and read some of the stotras and/or the 'Sixteen Treatises',. In the evening, they read in their houses or listen to in the temples, the vārtās and other scriptures. This is only nāma-sevā. Others institute the Lord's Svarūpa in their houses, after being allowed by the Gosvāmī and offer to the Lord crystallised sugar daily, and some people offer a sweet (called nāgarī) too, in addition. They follow the above-mentioned routine (i.e. nāma-sevā) also. This type of worship cannot be called the full and authentic Puṣṭimārgīya worship, but because all people are not able to observe all the conventions and the complete mode of worship, as done by the 'māyādīs', they try

5. Vide for some more details, Bhararuci Nīmadīā kalaha, P.39.

to follow practices which are convenient to them.

Then, there is another type of the vaiṣṇavas, who are called the 'maryādīs'. They institute the Lord's Svarūpa (a portrait, or some book or some garment etc.) in their houses and perform the Lord's worship with all the rules and conventions, either in the morning or both in the morning and in the evening. Among the 'maryādīs' also, there are adopted different modes of worship according to their convenience. They accept only that food and water which are offered to the Lord and never take meals or any other thing in the hotels or restaurants and never use tap-water. The modes of worship and the conventions followed by the 'maryādīs' and their austere conduct are difficult to follow in these days, and also faith in the such worship is disappearing fast, and, therefore, this class of the Vaiṣṇavas is getting diminished day by day.

It is noteworthy that the temples, belonging to the 'Fourth House' are generally managed by the Vaiṣṇavas themselves and the Gosvāmī Mahārāja, occupying the seat at Gokul, does not interfere in their day - to - day or economic affairs.

(iv) The Bharuṇī Vaiṣṇavas

The Bharucīs⁶ form a group among themselves. Among them also, there are 'maryādīs' as well as the 'non-maryādīs'. They call their sect as Mahad-mārga also. They are very much different from the other vaiṣṇavas, either belonging to the 'Six Houses' or the 'Fourth House'. They look upon GO as the Highest Lord⁷, and consider VL

6. It is said that the word Bharucī is not correct. The correct word is bhararucī (i.e. having profound spiritual attitude), which, in colloquial parlance, became Bharucī. But I think, this is a later explanation. Mohanbhai and his family, who looked upon GO, as the Great Lord, hailed from Broach (Bharuca) and all those who followed him in such a belief were and are called the Bharucīs. The periodical Puṣṭisudhā (Vol. IV - No. 5, second title-page) notes that the original word is Vararuci and is explained in the Vararuci - mārga - prakāś'a. I think, this appears to be a later effort to sanskritise the word Bharucī.

7. Cf. श्रीमद्गोकुलनाथो यः परमः पुरुषोत्तमः।

सर्वं कर्तुमुताकर्तुमन्यथा कर्तुमीश्वरः ॥

- K. Bhatta: Kallola I - 3 - 5.

जे जसोदासुत थया अने चारी व्रजमांहां गाय॥

ते श्रीबिठेलसुत हवा, श्रीगोकुलराय ॥

- Mahāvādasa: Rasakoś'a,

S'obhana 16 - 14.

as his mouth incarnation and VT as his heart. They do not go to any Puṣṭimārgīya temples for ^aḌars'ana, nor do they pay obeisance to the Gosvāmīs. They do not believe in the popular Puṣṭimārgīya belief that the descendents of VL are to be looked upon as VL,⁸ and do not bow down to the different idols (nidhi-svarūpas) of the Lord in the Puṣṭimārgīya temples. Their mode of worship and their devotional attitude (bhāva) are also different from those of others. They do not worship any portrait of GO or any idol of GO or any other form of the Lord. They consider the 'Pādukās', a garment, a letter or hair of GO - anything that is touched by GO, to be the 'Svarūpa' of GO,⁹ and worship any of the above items as the Lord Himself. Some of them, institute S'rī Yamunājī (of course, in a pitcher) and worship Her as the Lord. They conceive great reverence for things and persons in contact with GO. They do not like any via media between them and GO, their Lord. Other followers of the Puṣṭimārga

8. Cf. the popular saying श्रीवल्लभके वंशमें सब ही वल्लभरूप।

9. This is an old tradition. In Buddhist mode of worship, we find that they worship the urn etc. which contains some remnant of Buddha's body. In Karahṭa, there is one family, where an old diadem of S'rī Nāthajī is worshipped (Vide VS Vol. VII - 2 P.19).

offer all the preparations of food to the Lord, while the Bharucīs offer only one dish to Him and then the 'Prasāda' is mixed with the remaining preparations. Generally the songs of the eight (aṣṭachāpa) poets are sung in the Puṣṭimārgīyātemples, while the Bharucīs sing songs composed only by Go's devotees (mahad - bhaktas), who were his contemporaries. They celebrate the birthdate of GO as the 'Great Festival' and also observe some of the days, previous to GO's birthdate too, as festivals. They gather and keep awake till midnight on the day, previous to GO's birthdate, and sing songs (dholas, padas, etc.) describing GO's life and activities. This type of gathering and singing and dancing (not only among the Bharucīs, but among other vaisnavas also) might be an influence of the Caitanya sect, where singing in assemblies is very usual. They also celebrate the birthdates of VL, VT, Kṛṣṇa, and also of the great devotees of GO, such as Mohanbhai, Bahenajīrāja and Gokulbhai.

When a child is nearly ^{two} months old, the tradition, among the Bharucīs, is to put round its neck, an offered tulasīmālā. Those, who want to adopt the way of the 'maryādīs', get initiated at one or another place, sacred in their view.

From the above, we find that the Bharucīs believe GO as their only Lord and have great faith in

and reverence for everything that is connected with GO. Their attitude of ananyatā (seeking refuge in God alone) is really a great virtue. Ananyās'raya is one of the cardinal principles of the Puṣṭimārga and we find it fully observed among the Bharucīs. It is said that they even do not follow certain Vedic Conventions and traditions, lest their observance should break their vow of ananyatā. It is like a protestant school, protesting to the leaning towards the Vedic and worldly traditions. According to them, the meaning of ananyatā is very deep. The form (svarūpa) of one Kṛṣṇalīlā is different from the svarūpa of another līlā and hence if one has faith in and worships one svarūpa, one should not worship another svarūpa, ¹⁰ for a pure Puṣṭimārgīya the svarūpa. ¹⁰ Besides, different devotees worship with different devotional attitudes and therefore,

10. Cf. जे लीलाभेदे स्वरूपभेद थाय छे. ब्रजस्थितलीलाए रासरमण कीधुं ते शुद्धपुरुषोत्तम ने शुद्ध रसलीला, ने गोचारण लीला कीधी ते स्वरूप भिन्न, दैत्यमारण लीला कीधी ते स्वरूप भिन्न, मथुरा लीला कीधी ते स्वरूप भिन्न. स्वरूप तो एक ज पण मथुरांगया तयारे स्वरूप भिन्न थमुं. ए लीला भेदे स्वरूप बदलायुं न होय तो मुख्य भक्त मथुरा कां न गया ? लीलात्मक स्वरूप इदयारूढ थाय तयारे स्वरूपभेदनी अन्याश्रय थयो के नहि ?

they (maryādīs) take only that food and water which are offered to their own personal deity (sevyā svarūpa).

Because the Bharucīs believe in only GO, they are criticised very much in the Puṣṭimārgīya society. It is said that their mode of worship and their beliefs are against the conventions of the Puṣṭimārga. The SK relates an anecdote that VT was engaged in the worship of the Lord when he got the news of GO's birth. So, he was polluted according to the custom; and was deprived of the Lord's worship. He, therefore, pronounced a curse that his (GO's) followers will be averse (bahirmukha) to Puṣṭimārgīya practices.¹¹ But

such a report is not consistent with VT's character and is historically¹² untrue and appears to be malicious.

It is true that the Bharucīs do not follow all the

11. Cf. लाडीलेश गुंगार मधि किय विच्छेद जु आन ।

सृष्टि बहिर्मुखता दई विद्वेश नृपमान ॥

- SK - P.63.

12. The SK says that VT was at Carenāṭa at the time of GO's birth. The Sajjana Mandana, written in 1683 V.S. says that he was at Girirāja. The SK was written in 1729 V.S. and hence the former work is more trustworthy. Vṛndāvanadāsa also says in one pada that जाके ील

श्रीगोवर्धन आए ताकी निधि घर बैठे आई।

Puṣṭimārgīya traditions, but it is not correct to say that they cannot be included in to the Puṣṭimārgīya fold.

All the Bharucīs do not get initiated at one place or site. Some ^{of} ~~fe~~ them get initiated at Broach, some at Vallabha-ghāṭa (Gokul) , some at Deoghḍhabārīā and some at Badhalpur. It is said that a few of them go to a spot, where Motābhāī (a devout follower of GO) sat near Gokul for meditation, and get initiated there. A few of them go to Godhra where Motābhāī's carriage (māfo) is kept and get initiated there. Besides, some of them go to Kepadvanj at the temple, sacred to Bahenajīrāja, for initiation. They all believe in GO's Lordship and sing the compositions of the earliest Bharucīs, as stated above.

Among the followers of GO, there is another group of Vaiṣṇavas who follow Gosvāmī S'rī Ramanālālaji (birth 1904 V.S.) of Mathura. He and his followers have accepted the traditions of the Bharucīs , but they believe in the Lordship of VL and VT also. It is said that they utter वल्लभ तवास्मि at the end of the initiation formula (nivedana mantra) and remember great devotees of GO, like Ratanabāī at that ~~in~~ time. Again, there are some followers (in the 'Fourth House'), who believe

in the Lordship of Gosvāmī S'rī Kanaiyālālajī
alias Viṭṭhales'ajī (birth 1925 U.S.), one of the sons
of S'rī Ramanalalajī and who was adopted for the seat of
Gokul.

Among the followers of GO there are ~~to~~
others who believe VL and VT also to be the Highest
Lord. Harirāyajī, whose initiation ceremony was
performed by GO, ~~whose~~ stotras and nāmāvalī lauding
him greatly, but he at the same time, lauds VL and
VT also. Moreover GO himself says in his long
com on the SS, that his followers looked upon ^{him} as
Puruṣottama, but they would not please the Ācārya
viz. VL; and he considered that state of affair as
God's will.¹³ So, it appears that GO did not like
that he should be worshipped as the Highest Lord.
Could it be that some of his followers had some mystic
experience to that effect, which led them to believe
in his Lordship ? It is also possible that they might
have started to do so, because VT used to think very

-
13. Cf. तदुक्तप्रकारातिरिक्ताचरणे सर्वथैव मार्गाद् भ्रश्यते न तत्र
सदेहः। यथास्मदीयाः मां पुरुषोत्तमं निश्चित्य भजन्ति (ते)
तेन किं प्रकटितशुद्धभक्तिमार्गाचार्याणां प्रसन्नता सिध्यति ।
न क कदापीत्यर्थः। एतेषामाग्रहविषये भगवदिच्छैव (च्छाया एव)
नियामकत्वादस्याकम्प्याग्रहो नास्ति दुष्टाग्रहवतां स्वभाव-
परावृत्तिः। - P. MS, P. 264.

highly of him, because he commanded great affection and respect from almost all the vaiṣṇavas and because he came out with laurels in the event of māla-prasaṅga.

As regards the initiation, it is said that GO allowed four ways for it: by a dream, by a Gosvāmī, by a letter of Gosvāmī or by a devotee. GO is not very dogmatic about. He has allowed initiation even for a second time, if it is necessary from the spiritual point of view.¹⁴ The letter of Bheṣasā is quoted in the favour of the alternatives mentioned above, but as pointed out in the chapter III (e), that letter speaks of only nāma-ceremony. But there are Vac of GO, in which he has advocated initiation ceremony by the devotees.¹⁵ As regards initiation by a letter,

15. It is reported that Mohanbhai was allowed to perform the initiation ceremony before the Lord's Svarūpa. Vide the lines, well known among the Bharucīs :

..... मोहनभाई तेह्या त्यां ही ॥४॥ तुम्हारी संतति कु
निवेदन करवाओ आंही॥ आज्ञा ब्रह्मसंबंधनी प्रभुजीए दीधी ते त्यांही॥४॥
.....सेव्य स्वरूपनी आगल रही निवेदन करशे जे कोई। अंगीकार साक्षात
करूंगी एमांहां सदैह कह्युं नाहि ॥ १४ ॥

14. Vide VS Vol. VIII - 2, P.16, Vac No.218.

it is said that the daughter of Govindadāsa
Chīpadīā was initiated by a letter of GO.¹⁶

(v) Literature of the Bharucīs

After the passing away of GO, some of his devotees died of pangs of separation from him.¹⁷ They are popularly known as the 78 Bhāgavadiyas. But there were many who continued to live and passed their lives in singing GO's praise. Of them, K.Bhaṭṭa, Gopāldās, Gokulbhāī, Vallabhabhāī, and others are very important. They have produced a considerable amount of the literature which comes to approximately three lakhs of S'lokas.¹⁸ K. Bhaṭṭa wrote Kallola (i.e. गोकुलेश लीला सुधासिंधु कल्लोल) in 15 books, composing nearly 40,000 s'lokas in Saṃskṛta, in which GO's life is depicted in details. He is said to have written रसिकरंजनी a com on the Gītā also. Gopaldas wrote पांच तरंग, स्वरूप रसावली, तत्त्वार्थदीहन,

16. Cf. "जो पत्र ले आवी, पत्रं निवेदन करवाओ। VS Vol.I-

3,P. 3, Var No.19. Vide also स्वरूपरसावली, मंगल १२, St.115 (Anugraha Vol.XIII No.11 - 12, P.10).

17. Vide appendix No.4.

18. Vide appendix No.8.

etc. in Gujarati. Mahāvēdāsa wrote सज्जन मंडन, वल्लभगीत,
 etc. in Samskr̥ta and रसकोश, रससिंधु, गूढरस etc.
 in Gujarati. स्वरूपानुभव ओच्छव of Gokulbhai
 describes in details how the birthdate of GO was
 celebrated from 1692 to 1697^{v.s.}. These works depict
 the incidents of GO's life in details and with great
 devotion. There are also some followers who wrote
 about GO in the 18th and the 19th centuries of
 Vikrama Era. Works (मोहनविप्रयोग etc.) of
 Moṭābhāī are important among the later works. These
 works bespeak their profound love for GO. Some
 miraculous legends are also related in all seriousness
 and the ^{proud} ~~points~~ credulity of the devout followers have
 no reserve in taking them as true. The same phenomenon
 is found in the literature about Caitanya. The
 literature of the Bharucīs may not be found in good
 taste, poetical or otherwise, and may appear to a
 layman or a faithless person like meaningless babblings
 of blind followers; yet beneath all that there is pure
 devotion and selfless love for GO. No one can deny
 it.

This literature of GO's followers - mostly
 written between 1660 to 1760 V.S. - is much useful from
 the historical as well as social and geographical point
 of view.

Among the great devotees of GO, are Mohanbhai, Gokulbhai, Vallabhabhai and others of Broach. GO had great affection for Mohanbhai and considered him to be his second self. Mohanbhai stayed in Agra, earned huge amounts of money and spent everything in the service of GO, through his uncle Gokulbhai who stayed in Gokul. The mode of worship (sevāprakāra), which the Bharuṭīs follow today, was shown by Gokulbhai and Vallabhabhai was instrumental in instituting the mode of worship in the original seat (bethaka) of GO in Gokul.

Another great devotee of GO was Vajerāma, also called Motābhāī (circa 1760 V.S.). He had vision of GO and wrote poems about him and his devotees. Among the great women devotees are रतनबाई, रूपाबाई, फुलकुंवर, राजकुंवर,

सेजबाई, वीरबाई, गौमतीबेन जवांजी - मानाजी

(queens of Dhrola), etc. रतनबाई

was a contemporary of GO and is said to have some mystic experiences. She is now called बृहेनजीराज and at her birth site in Kapadavanj she is worshipped as a great devotee of GO. रूपाबाई and others, too, had great spiritual love (अनन्यभाव) for GO. It is evinced by their Vinatīs

and letters.¹⁹

The Bharucīs have thoughtout their own theory of cosmogony. The main abode of the Highest Lord is the Goloka or the Nityalīlā (place of eternal sport). He assumes the Līlā-svarūpa and desires to sport. He develops Himself into Prakṛti and Puruṣa. The Prakṛti is the Principal Svāminījī and the Puruṣa is S'rī GO. The Lord is one and alone, but there

19. A few examples are given here:

(i) ... आपडा मननुं मंडाण, आपणुं अंतरधान, बाहालीजी, प्रीतमजी
.....हइयानो हारजी नीत्रनुं भूषणजी.... हेनां आवारे अहमो ताहडमांहां
भुजठ छुं रे। अदाभाई ए धणीनो धरथकी स्वभाव छे, जे के हेनीये आरत
षमे नहीं, ने अहमारी बेला कांहां ढील करे।

- From an unpublished letter of जवाजी and मानाजी to GO.

(ii)सिरसाटे मल्यो सोहिली मन्नो गमतो रे नाह,
कोटि कमल करुं नो छावरी अधिक अधिक मन चाह।
.....विरह असह्य वियोगनो, ते कांई कह्यो न जाय।
.....रसना तरंग प्रगट हवा, बांध्या प्रेमनां पूर।
-सेजबाई (Anugraha Vol.XX - 2, P.22.).

(iii) ज्यारे संभारूं बहालाजीनां रूपने रे,
भूपने रे जोवा माहारूं मन तपे ए।
मन तपे रे पण काज न थाए रे,
न जाइ रे प्राण ते माहारा सुं कहूं ए।

- रूपांबाई (Anugraha Vol.XX-6, P.27)...

Vide for the Vinatīs of others, the volumes of the periodicals Pustisudhā and Anugraha

appears duality, just as the moon, and her luster appear as two different entities, even though they are one. The Lord is said to have 12 powers:

कृपाशक्ति, इच्छाशक्ति, आनंदशक्ति, कार्यशक्ति, ज्ञानशक्ति,
भक्तिशक्ति, लीलाशक्ति, आधारशक्ति, कीर्तिशक्ति, कान्ति-
शक्ति, अव्यक्तशक्ति and मनुनाशक्ति -

With all these powers, He develops Himself into this universe and goes on sporting. Some of the twelve powers are also said to have taken birth in the world for the benefit of the ordinary souls. For example, it is said that Mohanbhai, Ratanbai, Gopaldas and Gokulbhai are incarnations of कृपाशक्ति, आनंदशक्ति, ज्ञानशक्ति and इच्छाशक्ति respectively.²⁰ It is said that the Lord saw in VL, the power to propagate the pure Bhaktimārga and asked him to take birth in this world.²¹ He (i.e. GO, the Highest Lord) took birth in this world to propagate the path of Love (रसमार्ग or स्नेहमार्ग), a form of Bhaktimārga and ~~the~~ to give the fruit of the Puṣṭibhaktimārga to his followers. Some 31 causes of GO's birth are enumerated in one MS (P.54 to 57), called Bhāva Bhāvanā, available in the Kanaiyāprabhu

20. Vide मोहनविप्रयोगरस रसान्विधग्रन्थ, , information about which is given in Anugraha Vol. XXI - 11, P.7. Vide also

गोकुलेशाख्यान ascribed to Ramanalālajī Mahārāja.

21. Cf. स्वमुखरूपी श्रीआचार्यनी मांदां ए सामर्थ्य जाणी,

तहमी जइय भूतल प्रगटो एम बोल्या मधुरी वाणी..... १६६

.....पुष्टपुष्ट परमस्नेहभर भक्तिमां रंग प्रगटायो। -१६७

-Prāgatya Siddhānta Maṅgala 2)

(Anugraha Vol. XXV-4, P.84)

Pustakālaya of Modasa. As regards GO's visit to Kashmir, it is said that the कृपाशक्ति requested him (GO) to go to Kashmir and show grace to the divine souls of that region, and hence GO desired to cross the river Sarasvatī and went to Kashmir. Seeing the emperor Jahangir was only an outward cause. This appears to be very far-fetched.

In this way, the Bharuṇī followers of GO have created a religious system within a system and maintained their individuality by following a particular mode of worship and having full faith in the supremacy of GO.²² Other followers (i.e. the Nīmadīās) do not object to associating with them in the celebration of religious festivals, for all belong to one religious fold, i.e. Pustīmārga.

(vi) The Pustīmārgīya way of life :

A few lines may be added here as regards the Pustīmārgīya way and ideal of life, as it was originally conceived. Generally a Pustīmārgīya is expected to get up early in the morning. After finishing the daily physical routine (going to latrine, brushing the teeth

22. A considerable amount of material about the Bharuṇī sect and its main-stays (its writers and great devotees) is available and merits a separate subject of study. Here I have tried to outline the information that I gathered.

etc.) taking bath and wearing clothes, untouched by others, he is expected to worship the Lord according to custom and with proper spritual attitude.²³ After it is over, he takes the offered (samarpita) food. The affair of worship (sevā) involves many actions, and all the members of the family are expected to be employed in the Lord's worship, by assigning to each of them some work or the other. The virtue of dignity of labour is given an assential place in the Puṣṭimārgiya way of life, for all the work (including sweeping, fetching of water, cooking etc.) connected with Lord's worship, is to be done by the followers or the followers, irrespective of their status in the family or ⁱⁿ the society.

Next to this, at noon and in the afternoon, a follower is asked to engage himself in his household affairs and in the business of earning and/or in reading the scriptures. Then, in the evening, a follower is expected to engage himself again in Lord's worship. Then after taking supper, the members of the family sit together and listen to the Vārtās and other scriptures. This is what is called nāma-sevā and GO has laid great emphasis on it because fixity in the

23. Vide chapter III (c) for details.

spiritual attitude can result only by reading and discussing the scriptures.

This is the way of life of, what is to-day called, a 'maryādī Vaiṣṇava'. But all the Vaiṣṇavas are not able to follow it in all details. Hence some of them engage themselves in nāmasevā only, some do worship only in the morning, go to the temples for dars'ana and read the scriptures at night. Some people satisfy themselves by doing various activities (sweeping the floor, preparing garland of flowers for the Lord, cleaning cereals, i.e. all types of manual labour), in the public or private Puṣṭimārgīya temples. The supreme purpose of this way of life is to engage oneself in remembrance and service of the Lord, which is the aim of life. Those, who are not able to do even that much, read some stotras and turn the rosary for five or more times. But this is not the ideal. The ideal is to institute the Lord's svarūpa and do worship in all its details and with the spiritual love of Svāmījī.

Chapter V

Estimate

(i) Introductory:

We have seen in the preceding pages, the contents and evaluation of the works of GO. A question may naturally be raised as to what was the contribution of GO to the S'uddhadvaita School of Philosophy and Religion. We shall try in the following few pages, to draw an estimate of his teachings and show his contribution. In Samskr̥ta, he wrote only the comm on the works of VL and VT and tracts on some of the lines of GB BG and Sub. Except the Vijn̥apti, he has not produced any important original work. It may appear surprising that he did not produce any original work, which is purely philosophical. In this context, it is to be said that the S'uddhadvaita doctrine was fully propounded by VL and VT with all its theological and philosophical content. Hence GO saw his duty to explain what they said in their works. His field lay in elucidating and interpreting the works of VL & VT¹-

1. In this connection, we may look to the work put in by Ācārya A.B. Dhruva in Gujarati literature. He took certain quotations from different poets and philosophers and commented on them freely; but that does not minimise the importance of his articles.

mostly religious and ethical, and preaching the practical side of religion. The philosophical part of the S'uddhādvaita view was well drawn out and GO took on himself the burden of explaining how the doctrine can be translated into practice. Of course, this was done to a certain extent by VT, but GO did it in greater details. As Udyotakara is to Gotāma and Vātsyāyana, in the school of Nyāya, GO is to VL & VT.

(ii) Use of the popular dialect:

We noticed that GO's works are found in two languages: Samskr̥ta and Vrajabhāṣā. The first was understood by a few persons. Most of the followers of the Puṣṭimārga were either illiterate or had a little education. Naturally, such followers could not read the works of VL and VT, which were in Samskr̥ta, and if they could not read them, their understanding and practice of religion would not be backed by conviction, and unless there is conviction, practice of religion would result into blind faith. GO, therefore, preached the doctrine in the popular tongue and that too, ~~with~~ with illustrations, anecdotes and allegories, so that the religious principles could be well inculcated in the minds of the followers. What Tulsidāsa did in the field of Rāmākathā and Kabir in the field of Nirākāra Bhaktimārga, GO ~~is~~ did in the field of Puṣṭimārga. Not

only that; he gave a spiritual interpretation of all the ceremonies and rituals and the materials used for the performance of the Lord's worship. The Vārtās and the Bhāvanās are very much important, and are his great contributions, from this point of view. They are just like the Purāṇas of the Sāṅgātana Hinduism. Every religion or every Sampradāya requires such type of literature and GO filled the gap. His religious discourses (Vac) brought home to the devotees the principles ~~xxxxx~~ of ethics and the Puṣṭimārga in a very interesting way. It would be no exaggeration to say that this literature of GO has influenced the Puṣṭimārgīyas more ~~ea~~ than anything else and that the Vārtās have become instrumental in its propagation.

His usual practice of sitting at noon and night with the followers and talking about things religious and spiritual, is perhaps responsible for the system of the 'Bethaka'³ in the Puṣṭimārgīya

2. Cf. जाते तथा प्रभुक्था कथने तदानीमुत्थापिते परिचयेण पुद्पधाने।

- Kṛṣṇarāya's Gokules'as'ayanāṣṭka St.4.

3. Some of the followers gather at night in the temples (or in the house of some devotee) and sing the stotras, read the Vārtās and other scriptures and sometimes discuss religious problems. Such a meeting is called 'bethaka' or 'satsaṅga' or 'bhagavad Māṇḍalī'.

temples. Go always emphasized that one should always ~~emphasized that one~~ be in contact with the 'bhagavadiyas' and seek their grace; for it is through them that the secret of the bhaktimārga can be learnt. He equated them even with the Gosvāmīs, in this respect. VL said that the learned are the protectors of the right path⁴; in the eyes of GO, the bhagavadiyas, too, are the protectors of the Path of Bhakti.

(iii) GO's Views and Teachings:

GO's teachings are in line with ^{those} of VL and VT. The difference lies in his method and the degree of emphasis. He laid emphasis on the worship of the Lord and pondering over the sports of Kṛṣṇa, particularly the Rāsakṛidā, for the svarūpa of the Rāsakṛidā is the pure Puruṣottama. He, therefore, advocated the reading of the BG, particularly the 'phala-prakarana' (BG X-25 to 32).

There are two methods of exposition, in philosophy: epistemology (प्रमाणवाद or ज्ञानप्रक्रिया) and ontology (प्रमेयवाद or ज्ञेयप्रक्रिया). GO laid emphasis on the second method and characterised the Puṣṭimārga as the path beyond the means of proof⁵.

4. Cf. विद्वद्भिः सर्वथा श्राव्यं ते हि सन्मार्गरक्षकाः।

-VL's Patrāvalambana, St.40 (ed. G. H. Bhatta, 1960 A. D.).

5. Cf. प्रमाणातिरिक्ते भक्तिमार्गे...! GB (ed. M. G. Shastri) P.1.

Prameya is the Highest Lord, Kṛṣṇa, and His will is the law. There is no any other law more sacred than God's will. According to this view, God is the 'Sādhana' (means)⁶ and God is the 'phala' (fruit). So, even though, he (GO) accepted the four pramāṇas, he quoted more from the Gītā and the BG. He maintained that even if there is no knowledge, of God, but if there is love for God, it leads to realization.

Worship of the Lord with pure, unadulterated and disinterested love is the supreme duty of the devoted soul and love knows no law; everything is subservient to love, for the Lord. According to his view, the soul has to have no will and has not to depend on his power, but he has to merge his will into God's will and depend on His grace. "There's not to reason why, there's but to do and die," is the law of love. GO practised the preached this way of Pure Puṣṭi.

If all the rituals are performed completely, but if they are not inspired by love for the Lord, it is no worship. When love reigns supreme, rules and regulations are of little importance. The story of Vāghājī Rājapūta in the BhS is an instance in

6. Cf. अलीकि के भगवानेव साधनम् । -

point. But at the same time, GO tells us in his long com on the SS and in the Bhāvanās, with what spirit worship is to be done, with what spirit food-articles are to be prepared and what rules are to be observed.

True love involves selfless devotion and complete surrender. GO, therefore, laid much stress on the principle of 'ananyatā or ananyās'raya' (seeking refuge in Kṛṣṇa only) and abandonment of unoffered food and drink⁷. That has been illustrated in some of the Vartās. He even showed minutely how the fault of 'anyās'raya' occurs. There are different svarūpas of the different sports of the Lord and if a devotee concentrates on one of the līlāsvārūpas, he should not concentrate on another svarūpa; and if he does so, he commits the fault of 'anyās'raya'.⁸ He (GO) said that

7. The principle of 'asamarpita - tyāga' is very useful from the hygienic point of view. When there has been no restraint on food and drink in our lives and no cleanliness or purity is observed in day to day affairs, the importance of the principle need not be overemphasized.

8. Vide Chapter IV, Footnote No.10. (लीलाभेदे स्वरूपभेदः etc.)

the Puṣṭimārga is लोक वेदातीत (beyond the Vedic and worldly rules and traditions) and showed in his tract on the stanza धन्यास्तु मूढमतयः and other comm that what is considered a fault in the 'maryādā-mārga' (the way of convention) is a virtue in the Puṣṭimārga. Thus, he has made clear the svarūpa of the Puṣṭimārga.

He did not attach much importance to traditions. Traditions may be followed, he says, but if there is conflict between a Vedic tradition and the Sevāmārga, the Vedic tradition may be shelved. He crossed the river Sarasvatī for the cause of religion. He has in one case, allowed initiation of ~~any~~ a person, even for a second time and ^{had} have even approved of initiation by a letter of a Gosvāmī or by a dream and even by a bhagavadīya. 'Ātmadharmā' is more important than the 'dehadharma'. He does not discard the rules of the Varnās'rama, but on the occasion of conflict between a tradition of the Varnās'rama and that of the Bhaktimārga, he would attach importance to the ~~later~~ later.

As regards the knowledge of the greatness of the Lord (māhātmyajñāna), he has rightly stated that it is necessary to be immune from faults, but when supreme love for the Lord ~~downs~~ and takes ~~five~~ five.

footing in the heart, it is not necessary. He advocated that life must be lived in full, but it must be lived in God and for God. The devotee has to attend to the comforts of the Lord, rather than his happiness. So, there is scope for enjoyment in the life of a devotee, but it is with restraint and with offered things.⁹ The theory of self-renunciation and self-destruction, as preached by some other sects, is not approved of in the Puṣṭimārga. Life can have its full thrill in the worship of God. (That is why, Vaisnavism spread in the medieval times.) Go advocated this type of approach to life.

According to GO, Brahman is rasātmaka (blissful). The 'rasa' is रस which is twofold: संयोग (union) and विप्रयोग (separation). He emphasized that great bliss lay in experiencing the feeling of separation. He said that experiencing deep pangs of separation from the Lord is the only means of realizing Bliss and that the Puṣṭimārga is the pathway of experiencing 'tāpa' (agony) and 'kles'a' (pain). We know that even in literary

9. Cf. धर्माविरुद्धः कामोऽस्मि....! - Gītā VII - 11.

criticism and in life, प्रेम (sentiment of love) is given a high place. GO makes use of the same content and ~~pre~~ paraphernalia in describing the relation between the soul and the Lord, and also in describing the Nikuñja, the abode of the Lord viz., Rases'a S'rī Kṛṣṇa. Svāminī or Rādhā is not here the 'S'akti' only, but a beloved, who also becomes instrumental in leading the soul to ~~B~~ Supreme Bliss. GO is, therefore, called by his followers, the propagator of the 'rasamārga' - the path of Divine ~~Flab-F~~ Flavour or Bliss.

As regards a devotee's conduct in the world, he has said in the '32 Lakṣaṇas' on the '24 Vac', how ~~he~~ he must behave. He should realize that the world is a form of the Lord and should perform his duty, in the world with equanimity, he should not be unjust to anyone and be generous and merciful to all beings. He emphasized that our life is regulated by Divine Force, by God's will, and so we should not feel miserable for any loss or failure. Not only that, he says that a devotee should not ask for anything from the Lord, lest it should cause discomfort to Him. Prayer (prārthanā) is, therefore, forbidden in the Puṣṭimārga, for the Lord is antaryāmi and knows what is good for the soul. GO says that God

does not make a true devotee's life, easy and comfortable, for that would make him engrossed in worldly enjoyments.

It is this approach and emphasis and also interpretation of the Puṣṭimārga, that is contributed by GO to the S'uddhādvaita school. VL and to a certain extent VT, too, were laconic in their works and it was necessary to explain fully the S'uddhādvaita mode of worship and approach to life, and it should be observed that GO did it well.

(iv) The cult of Guru and GO.

The cult of Guru in the Sampradāya was started by VT, by writing the SS and the Vallabhāṣṭaka etc. GO gave a momentum to it by writing comm on both the works and endorsing what his father had said. In this connection, it should also be noted that he held an original view. He did ask the followers to worship VL and VT, but did not put all the descendents of VL on par with them. VT said that VL transferred his greatness to his descendents,¹⁰ but GO held the view that VL transferred his greatness to VT only. He perhaps saw and foresaw a state of degeneration of the Sampradāya and warned the Gosvāmīs, in his tract on the stanza 'Asmat Kulam', that they should not be

10. Cf. SS St. 22.

self-complacent and that their family is spotless only when the Lord accepts them as His own and that spotlessness can be achieved by the true worship of the Lord Only. He attached ~~importance~~ importance to their execution of spiritual attitude in life rather than the hierarchy of the Gosvamis.

(v) GO, the saviour of the S'uddhādvaita School :

The sampradāya saw a great challenge in Gidrūpa who had prepared himself to wipe the S'uddhādvaita School out of existence. GO stood the challenge, faced the political authorities, suffered great hardships and proved the correctness of the stand of the S'uddhādvaita view. GO was, thus, instrumental in setting the sampradāya on a firm footing.

(vi) GO's influence

As stated in the previous chapter, many men and women were drawn towards GO and some of his followers began to look upon him as the Highest Lord. He proved to be so powerful a personality and his influence was so great, that he became the subject of poetic compositions. Harirāyaji, Kṛṣṇarāya, Gopāldās, K. Bhaṭṭa and others, have written a great deal about him. He has proved himself a distinct personality in the S'uddhādvaita School and is remembered along with VL and VT as a great ācārya, although he never called himself an ācārya. Truly, he was the third

ācārya of the school. His influence is clearly seen in Harirāyaji . The great writers of this school are VL, VT , GO, Harirāyaji and ~~Rux~~ Purusottamaji, and GO occupies a high place as a writer and a true exponent of the Puṣṭimārga.¹¹ He has also left an indelible impression in the school as a great ~~xxxx~~ teacher (guru).

(vii) GO's contribution

Recapitulating what is said, we may evaluate GO's contribution in a few lines in this way: Even though he wrote in Samskr̥ta mainly on the works of VL and VT, the 'pūrvasūris', and did not produce, in Samskr̥ta, any original work on pure philosophy, he has done a great service by his comm. and Vrajabhāṣā literature. His long com on the SS, his comm on the Gadyamantra and the Guptarasa and his tracts on the GB and 'asmat Kulam' are really great contributions to the S'uddhādvaita School, and so is his Vrajabhāṣā literature. It is he who attached spiritual significance to the rituals and materials used in the worship of the Lord. VL and VT propounded what the Highest Truth

11. Cf. श्रीगोकुलनाथ प्रकट किया नारग बखान ।

- Paramānandadāsa in one of his pada.

Cf. also बल्बभूके वंशमें गुननिधि गोकुलनाथ अति।

- Nābhādāsa's Bhaktamāla (Lucknow edition) P.783.

is and GO explained clearly the path of realizing that Highest Truth. He sifted out what was 'laukika and vaidika' and propounded the pure Bhaktimārga, depending on the Lord alone, the Highest Prameya. VL propounded the doctrine of grace and instituted the school, VI finished what was left unfinished by his father, established the 'church' and gave an esoteric touch to it. GO followed the footsteps of his father. He protected and consolidated the sampradāya. He developed and explained the esotericism of the System. Harirāyaji rightly calls him the propagator of the religion.¹² Thus his contribution is twofold: as the consolidator and as the interpreter and propagator of the S'uddhādvaita school of Philosophy and Religion. According to the words of a non-sectarian writer, 'Gokulanath - being more eminent, however, gave the new cult and religion wide currency and popularity throughout the country of Rajasthan and Gujarat.'¹³

12. Cf. धर्मो येन विवर्धितः

-Gokules'āṣṭaka: vide appendix No.7.

13. Vide Vallabhacharya (published by G.A. Natesan & Co., Madras, P.2.

...454...

We would like to wind up the Chapter
with a verse which is written by VT in an eulogy
of VL, but which ^{in my view,} is also applicable to GO:

क्वचित्पांडित्यं केन निगमगतिः सापि यदि न
क्रिया सा सापि स्याद्यदि न हरिमार्गं परिचयः।
यदि स्यात्सौऽपि श्री ब्रजपतिरतिर्नेति निखिल -
गुणैरन्यः की वा विलसति विना वत्सभवरम् ॥

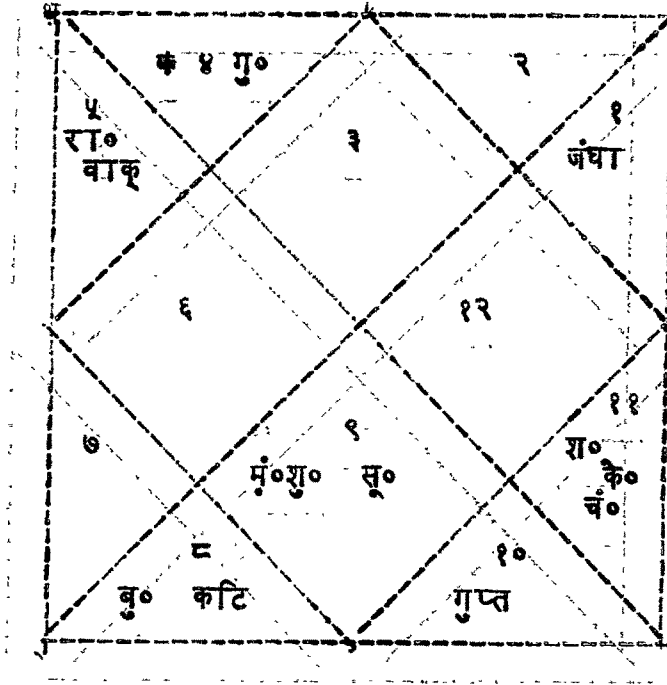
0 0 0 0 0 0
+ + + +
x x x
* *
' @ '

...i...

Appendix - I

The Horoscope (Janma-kundlī)
of
S'rī GOKULANĀTHAJī

The horoscope of S'rī GO as given
in Prākṛtya-Siddhānta, Maṅgala 8 of Gopaldas
Vyaraṇala is as under. It is also given in
Anubhāvānanda of Haridas.¹



1. Vide S'rī Gokules'a-Dholapada-Mādhurī (edited
by ^{Shri P. S. Doshi &} Shri C. M. Vaidya), P.199.

N.B. Method of transliteration is not fully followed
in the appendices, as many names are familiar and they
are not popularly written by following the method of
transliteration.

Places¹ visited by Gokulanāthajī while he
toured Gujarat in 1646 - 47 V.S.

- १ पारासीली २ आन्वीर ३ सिकरी (राधाबाई)
- ४ रणथंभीर (लाडबाई) ५ उदेपुर^२ ६ खीराभाईका गाम
- ७ झाडोल (हरदास, गोविंद, गदो दवे) ८ पानीडा (हरपाल भील)
- ९ बडाली (गोविंद दवे) १० विजयनगर (विरमदे और उनकी १६ स्त्रियाँ)
- ११ देवगदाधर १२ दधालीजा (धनबाई या धनाई)
- १३ सादरडु (धरमदास या करमदास)
- १४ मोडासा (पुंजी रावल, विष्णुदास, सारंगधर व्यास, माधवदास)
- १५ सावली (सांबली) (कुंवर मेहतो) १६ खेराबु
- १७ बडनगर (देवजी मेहतो, भलीबाई, राजबाई)
- १८ विसनगर १९ आसीडा (वैकुंठ जोशी, कहानाभाई)
- २० वस (विष्णुभाई, सारंगधरभाई) २१ गोझारिया
- २२ ब्राह्मलेंणा (पुरुषोत्तमदास, लक्ष्मीदास) २३ लांघणज
- २४ समउ (दामोदर पंचोली, करमाबाई) २५ माणसा (देवजी जानी)
- २६ धणीऔर नाबरा (गोविंददास) २७ छालेंबहारे (गोविंद मेहतो)
- २८ भादरडु-खेरील (पवात्रवाडी) २९ मांडीजा (गोपीभाई)
- ३० असारवा (भाइला कौठारी, हरजीभाई, कृष्णदास, जेतब कौठारी)
- ३१ अमदावाद (विठ्ठलदास, ताता हरिवंश), लखणदास, माधवदास,
ठाकुरदासी.....)

- ३२ सरखेज ३३ साणंद ३४ गोधावी

1. The information is based on the Rasika Rasa Grantha of Gopāldās, published in Anugraha Vol.15 Nos.11-12. Names of the important vaishnavas are given in the bracket.
2. Before Udeput रामपुरा and कुकडेस्वर are also mentioned, through which he passed.

...iii...

- ३५ विरमगाम ३६ घ्रांगघ्रा (डांगदरु)
३७ पांसरा (पांचसरा) (कुंकाजी भगत) ३८ छीकारी (चारण स्त्री)
३९ द्वारका ४० बडा खंभालिया
४१ राजकोट (विभीजी) ४२ नवानगर (सतो जाम)
४३ खंभालिया (राघवदास भट्ट) ४४ झील (अनांबाई)
४५ मोरवी और कैयाणाबाबरा (भागरथी फूल बाई)
४६ हलवद (राजा बीजोजालो) ४७ कुडा (जाबोजी)
४८ पाटण (मधुजी ठाकोर, जमुना, माधवदास मोहणदे,
कल्याणदास, गंगाबाई, माधव महेतो, लक्ष्मीदास दोस्त्री)
४९ सिद्धपीर ५० महेसाणुं
५१ हालारझालार ५२ देसदुंडा (देशदठार)
५३ राजनगर हौकर सईदपुर (कीका महेता, भाडभुंजी)
५४ उवारसद ५५ गतराडु (शंकरभाई, काबीजी)
५६ झीर (मदनभाई, हरचंद) ५७ कपडवंज (विष्णुदास, कृष्णशामल, नरसंग)
५८ वीरपीर(सुरजी राणा, केशव पंड्या) (Then he passed
through लीमडीआ)
५९ गौधरा (सामलदास, सोभाग दे)
६० बडोदरा (गौविंददास) ६१ महुधा (जीवी मेहती)
६२ नडियाद (मुलथान महेतो, विशराम त्रवाडी, कहानजी पटेल)
६३ सौजित्रा (रामजी पटेल) ६४ त्रांगरू (जिठभाई)
६५ खंभात (माधवदास, जिठपारस) केशव खत्री.....)
६६ महीसागर (मोरारी आचार्य) और बडोदारा (महावजीभाई,
गोनीभाई, मालजी पंचोली)
६७ राणापीर कीठी ६८ वेलुगाम

...iv...

- ६९ लेंबीदरा ७० भरूच (नाथभाई)
७१ अंकलेश्वर ७२ कौसंबा
७३ सूरत (मोहनभाई, माधवदास, द्वारकादास.....)
७४ व्यारा (देवजीमहेता, सीराजभाई, भाचो गांधी, कासी त्रपाढी)
७५ वडगाम (संतदास) ७६ कोलेदे (केशवदास)
७७ धायता (माधवदास सुरव्जि) ७८ नंदरबार
७९ संधुसेठा ८० बेटीवद (हरिदास)
८१ धरणगाम ८२ तापीपीर (गोविंददास, देवजी पारेख)
८३ भामगढा (राणो परस) ८४ नालछा तलाव
८५ दयालपुर (दिपालपीर) (परमानंद भट्ट)
८६ चौरन रामण (चौरनारायण) ८७ डज्जेन
८८ सुनेरने तलाव ८९ सारंगपीर (विष्णुदास)
९० मंगलाज ९१ आंतरीआ (तंबोली)
९२ गढ़ (गुवालिपर के पास) (रायसंग)
९३ वडौणल (वडुलल) (भगवानदास - भागवतदास)
९४ धीलपीर
९५ आगरा

APPENDIX 3.

Works on and references to the Mālā Prasaṅga

1. Māloddhāra (i.e. Caturtha Taraṅga) -
Gopaldas Vyāravālā
2. Mālā-prasaṅga - some unknown writer (vide
Anugraha Vol.13 P.445)
3. Mālā-prakarana - Bhagavanādāsa of Patī
4. Mālā - Uddhāra - Vallabhbhai
5. S'rī Gokulesh Pratāpa Mārtanda - Gopal Gahvara
6. Kallola VII - VIII - IX - Kalāyana Bhaṭṭa
7. Sajjana Mandana - Mahāvēdāsa
8. Mālā - Prasaṅga - Balabhadra
9. Paṇa - Caritra - Giridharadāsa.

Several poets have referred to this event
in highly enlogistic terms. Some of them are as
under: -

Gujarati -

श्रीगोकुलेशजी: अमारती तुलसीनी माला.....बादशाह अपने एपाछां गाये सौ.

जहांगीर : सहु सहुना धर्मपाळी, धर्मनिषेधनां करमान सहु रद हो ।

--स्नानालाव कृत जहांगीर-नूरजहाँ पृ० ११५-१६

Sanskrit

- (१) संन्यासिवेशमीहित साधुगणः सोऽसुरो हरिद्रोही
येन निराक्रियतासी गोकुलनाथो हरिर्जयति। -
-वल्लभस्तोत्रे कल्याण भट्टकृते।
- (२) मालारक्षणकर्ता च शुद्ध सत्कीर्तिवर्धनः दुष्टानां दोषहन्ता च
दो भक्त निर्भयकारकः। - विष्णुदासरचिते
अष्टोत्तरशतनाम्नां स्तोत्रे।
- (३) पाष्ठाण्डिदंडी सफे क्त प्रचंडाधर्मखंडनः। स्वधर्मस्थापकोऽखंडधरामंडल मंडनम्।।
दत्तिकोपित पुष्पवीशाकारितस्तत्समीपिगः।
उल्लंघिततदीयाज्ञः सत्यसंधीव्रजेस्थितः।।
- कृष्णरासकृतायां नामरत्नमालावल्याम्।
- (४) चिद्रूपमतखंडनायनमः। मालाद्वय स्थापकायनमः।....
पुष्पवीशाज्ञोत्लंघनाय नमः।
तत्समीपि कारीरप्रोत्ताय नमः। काश्मीरपावनकर्त्रे नमः।
श्रीहरिरायजीकृतायां श्रीगोकुलाष्टोत्तरनामावल्याम्।

(see also appendix 7: Gokulāṣṭaka of Kṛṣṇarāya
and Harirāya)

Hindi

- (१) मति जानी ख्याल श्री गोकुलनाथजीकी माला है।
बखानी दूँ वेद मरजाद हूँ बखानी है।
ढारे गुदी बीच माला अमृत रसाला है।
बुलाए बहांगीरने जाय के मुआब दियो।
हिन्दू की पति राखी श्रीगोकुलनाथ प्रतिमाला है।
"प्राननाथ" कहे बात सुनी सब कान दे।

- (३) गोकुलका फकीर देखो आए कौन भाव से,
तैं ठारे गुदि बीच गुंज औ बनमाला है।
मागता हूं माला वे देता हैं जीव कौं ,
करै याद साइ कौं संग नंदलाला है।
हुआ है निठर भैं तो देता हूं दुसाला।
भेरे माला बंद और ग..... साला है।
"प्राननाथ" बात कहै सुनो सब कान दे।
मति जानौ ख्याल श्री गोकुलनाथजीकी माला है।
- (३) अधम उद्धारन तुम नाम बल्लभ
भक्ति पेज प्रतिपादन
तपसि पास निवारन
दुष्ट संहारन कारन
तिलक माल उधारन
माननी मान निवारन
रसिक सिरौमनि रस संचारन
कीरति उज्ज्वल जग विस्तारन
"बुंदावन" गोकुलपति नागर प्रगटे निजजन कारन।
- (४) दंडी मद मर्दन जु फिर माला वाद सुजान
-संप्रदाय कल्पद्रुम पृष्ठ १४०-४२
- (५) शाह कही सौ तैं न करी करी जो वेद पुरानन भाखी।
मालतिलक जनेऊ के कारन एडन पेंडन नारखी।।
श्रीपति कहैं जहांगीर के खान उमराव जेतै सब साखी।
श्रीबिठलनाथजूके श्रीगोकुलनाथजू सब हिन्दुन की पतिराखी।।

(६) टेक की, टेक की, टेक की, हेगिरि टेक हरै तो हरै ध्रुवतारी।

श्रीगोकुलनाथजु माला तजै तो शेष न शीष धरे भुव भारी।

पौत्र थके तो थके व्रज की पन कौन करै महिते रत न्यारो।

श्रीवल्लभवंस "विहारो" कहै कवि जागत हैं जग में जस थारो।

(७) मिटि गयी मौन पीनकी साधना की सुधि मूलने भूली

भूली योग युगति विसार्यौ तप बनकी।

"सेख" प्यारे मनकी उजारो भयो प्रेम नेम

तिमिर अज्ञान गुन ह्योस्थी बालपन की॥

चरन कमल की में लोचननिलीच धरी रोचन है राख्यौ

सोच मिट्यौ धामधन की ।

सो क्लेश नेक न क्लेश हू को लेश नहीं सुमिरि^{रि}

गोक्लेश गी क्लेश मनकी ॥

(८) जै श्री गोकुलनाथजु ^{मि}जैनमाला राखी,मायामत खंडन कियो... ।

- विष्णुदास छीपा (१५६७ - १५८० वि०सं०)

(See MS No.1/2 P.194, Kāṅkarolī noted in

Vārtā Sāhitya, P.247)

APPENDIX 4.

List of the Vaisnavas who expired on account of GO's ill-health and then his passing away.

There are some followers of GO, who died after learning the news of GO's ill-health & then his passing away from this mortal world. They are popularly known as 78 bhagavadiyas, but actually the number is a little more than 78.¹

1. Javān De (wife of Gopaldas Vyārawala) took poison
2. Gaurabāī (daughter of Venibhāī) " "
3. Kāhnābāī (wife of Devji Gandhi " "
- of Ankleswar) " "
4. Jevājī of Dhrol } died after learning^{the} sad news.
5. Mānājī of Dhrol }
6. Rūpābāī fell in the river Yamunā.
7. Nārang de cut off her head.

1. The list is given in accordance with the unpublished Bhakta - Bhāvārtha of Gopaldas Vyārāvālā which describes the passing away of GO in details. The dhola of 78 bhagavadiyas gives such a list, but it differs from the above at some places.

Kākā Vallabhajī's (1703 V.S.) Vacanāmṛta No.19 testifies the fact that 78 followers died out of pangs of separation from GO.

... X...

8. Virabāī
 9. Gaurbāī
 10. Dhanbāī
 11. Behabāī of Sāmbhata
- } Fell in the river
} Yamunā.
12. Meghaji Bhāī of Dabhoi struck his head against
slabs of stone.
 13. Mohanbhāī of Broach took 'bāimaseni', a kind of
poison.
 14. Demodardas Vira " " "
 15. Madhavadas of Sultanpūr fell in the river Yamunā.
 16. Rāibāī of Dungarpur did not take water and food.
 17. Kanakāde of Kapadvanj fell in Yamuna after
taking poison.
 18. Rājārāma of Sirandh gave up food and drink.
 19. Syāmdās Gandhi fell in Yamuna with a bag of
sand tied on the back.
 20. Gokuldas of Lunavada died of shock, as soon as
he heard the news.
 21. Nānī Vahu (wife of Gordhandas Vyas) took poison
 22. Dhanaji Rāīkām
 23. Girdharbhai of Broach took poison.
 24. Bhagvandas of Kareṭi took poison.
 25. Devji Gandhi and his family (of Ankleswar)
took poison.
 26. Ratanbai fell in Yamuna, but did not succeed.
and hence took poison.
 27. Sitabai, daughter of Bhagvandas, died in the
manner shown above.

...xi...

28. Gamtā de of Broach took poison.
29. Nāmbāi of Sultanpur took poison.
30. Harjibhai of Ujjain instantly died as soon
as he heard the news.
31. Harjibhai of Navapur took poison.
32. Hārabai Bhavsar of Vyara took poison.
33. Lahuji Gandhi of Ankleswar ate sand from
the Yamunā and hence died.
34. Nagjibhai of Ankleswar took poison.
35. Gokuldas Kalyandas Parekh of Dhāyata
fell in the river Yamuna.
36. Kiko Bhavsar fell in the Yamuna.
37. Shyandas Gandhi of Kapadvanj fell in the Yamuna.
38. Dhanji Gandhi fell in the Yamuna.
39. Yashoda Bhābhī (wife of Kalyāṇdas of
Sāmbhal) fell in the Yamuna.
40. Fuli Vaisnavas of Kalol fell in the Yamuna.
41. ~~Fuli-Vai~~ Kalyandas Khambhalia took poison.
42. Gaigā (daughter of Demodardas) took poison.
43. Ramabai of Dhāyata took poison.
44. Savirabai
45. Kūhnābāi of Karakhadi took poison.
46. Jivobhai of Karakhadi took poison.
47. Devakibai took poison.
48. Ramade of Vyara, wife of Ruda, took poison.
49. Kahandas Nagar of Kapadvanj took poison.

50. Mukunddas Chopda fell in the Yamuna .
51. Lālā of Kareṭi gave up food and drink .
52. Lakhabhai of Kareti took poison .
53. Kalyan Parekh of Tapipur fell in the Yamuna .
54. Punjibai of Balasinor took poison .
55. Mohandas Nagar fell in the Yamuna .
56. Ladkibai (daughter of Udhadambhai of Surat)
fell in the Yamuna .
57. Rāmabai of Sahebad fell in the Yamuna .
58. Kṛṣṇabai of Balasinore went to Gokul and took
poison .
59. Gagannathbhai of Tapipur took poison .
60. Viththaldasbhai of Broach took 'Bhimseni' .
61. Resikbhai gave up life somehow .
62. Dhanjibhai of Chopda fell in the Yamuna .
63. Devjibhai of Khanbhalia took poison .
64. Gokuldas of Kapadvanj took poison .
65. Rajbai of Tapipur took poison .
66. Gangabai (wife of Nathbhai of Broach) gave
up life out of extreme anguish .
67. Dadibai took poison .
68. Devkibai (daughter of Javānbai) gave up life .
69. Rudo servant of Dadaji, took poison .
70. Hira De (wife of Hirabhai) took poison .
71. Kahandas of Kapadvanj took poison .

...xiii...

72. Ajaibai of Khambhalia fell in the Yamuna.
73. Goverdhandas Nagar of Rajnagar became
almost mad.
74. Dhenbai (daughter of Govardhan Pandya) took poison.
75. Benibai of Broach took poison.
76. Fulbai of Broach took poison.
77. Madhandas Kayasth of Vyara took poison.
78. Ratnabhabhi, wife of Tulsidas, took poison.
79. Gopaldas (carpenter) took poison.
80. Panotibai (not mentioned in Bhakta Bhāvārtha).

Thus, the number is more than the traditional number 78. It is possible that the total might have been 78, on first calculation and then there might have been additions, as and when the compiler might have got such information from different quarters.

APPENDIX 5Followers of GO at different places in India

S'ri Bhaktā-Rāja-Vallabha-Ratna-Rāsālaya is a joint ef work of Sūraji Bhārgava and Vallabhabhai. It is dated 1733 V.S. (Māgha Sudi 5, Sunday). It enumerates the followers of GO at different places in India: they were nearly 5,000 in 174 Villages and towns, in 1733 V.S.

Following is the data collected from that work :

<u>Place</u>	<u>No.of followers</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>No.of followers</u>
Kapadvanj	400	Gahelā	9
Kadboriyu	7	Gulkundā	9
Kālōl	40	Gvaliyer	3
Kanagari	6	Gadhā	4
Kohā	28	Govindbāl	25
Kadi	3	Gokul	356
Kudā	1	Chopdā	8
Kaiyāna Bābarā	2	Chhepadiyu	9
Kavithā	3	Chhālāvārā	9
Kamlag	1	Chhikārī	2
Kōlad	5	Jehr	5
Kanoj	3	Junagadh	3
Kareti	44	Galesar	2
Kada-manekpur	2	Jaḷālpur	1
Kavel	13	Jalandhar	2
Kashmir	13	Jatalbad	4
Karnāl	1	Zalorā	2

<u>Place</u>	<u>No. of Followers</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>No. of Followers</u>
Khalenā	2	Thathavad	5
Khambhaliā	8	Thakordvar	58
Cambay (Khambhat)	75	Dahol	13
Khambhala	40	Dabhoi	50
Khiri	17	Tragad	2
Godhra	44	Thasar	1
Gozariya	2	Talvan	12
Gadhada	1	Takes'var	6
Gondal	14	Tapipur	230
Thaneswar	12	Manasa	1
Dev-gadadhar	2	Modhia	1
Daḍhaliyu	2	Mehsana	12
Div	2	Mehmdabad	18
Doltabad	3	Mangalaj	1
Daxinbhoi	42	Marasare	2
Dayalpur	2	Mayana	8
Delhi	23	Mathura	19
Dhrol	6	Merta	23
Dholka	78	Rajnagar	222
Dhayata	33	Rajkot	2
Nanu	8	Rampura	15
Nagar	7	Rahiya	6
Nava-nagar	6	Ranthambhor	4
Nar-pandol	3	Lunvada	113
Nadiad	46	Limbadia	12
Navapura	14	Lunadara	2

...xvi...

<u>Place</u>	<u>No.of followers</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>No.of followers</u>
Nandarbad	16	Laknow	8
Nojar	5	Lahorpur	4
Nyalohhā	2	Virpur	153
Navali	1	Lahore	13
Prantij	11	Vadāliā	1
Panvara	2	Vijānagar	17
Patan	14	Vādāshinor	29
Panch-sarā	3	Vadodā	1
Petlad	22	Varsodā	2
Patna	23	Vadnagar	29
Polāgām	17	Visnagar	30
Bavrā	5	Vākhurvādi	1
Bhadharpur	51	Vastral	60
Bijapur	4	Vāchha	4
Broach	377	Vahel	3
Bhāndut	1	Vāyāj	3
Bhāvgaḍha	1	Vadā-khambhāliā	1
Bhelsa	14	Vaso	42
Modasa	46	Vadodara (Baroda)	121
Mahudha	1	Vasarāvī	10
Veladā	13	Vālod	2
Vadukhala	1	Vyārā	79
Varanasi	13	Vadgām	7
Vādha	1	Agra	204
Vatālā	4	Adel	1

...xvii...

<u>Place</u>	<u>No. of Followers</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>No. of Followers</u>
Vana	6	Ambālā	7
Savli	1	Sultanpur	5
Shaherkhī	7	Shrirang	87
Sonāvda	7	Sāranpor	1
Samāu	2	Sikri	2
Serasī	16	Halol	4
Sidhpur	1	Halvad	1
Sishāng	3	Antoli	8
Sodhānā	1	Āsodu	17
Sarkhej	3	Adhaij	1
Sojitra	84	Anklesvar	18
Sākhor	1	An kdod	20
Surat	168	Etābād	1
Sultanpur	136	Aurangabad	7
Sarangpur	1	Idar	3
Siroj	14	Umreth	25
Sekot	5	Unjha	1
Shahajādapur	4	Ujjain	27
Sayānā	11	Uppal	2
			<hr/> 4
			4524

In addition to the above, there are mentioned 94 more followers whose places are not noted and there are mentioned, 300 more, who are added later to the above, number. 39 more who worked as servants and indifferent capacities in several temples, are also mentioned in the book, work.

APPENDIX - 6

Bethakas (Seats) of S'rī Gokulanāthajī

<u>As noted in the Bethaka-Carita</u>	<u>As noted in the Sampradāya- Kalpadruma - P. 152.</u>
1. Gokul	1. Gokul
2. Vrindāvana	2. Vrindāvana
3. Rādha-Krishna-Kunda	3. Gopalpur
4. Chandra Sarovara	4. Rādha-kunda
5. Girirāja (or Gopalpur)	5. Chandra-Sarovara
6. Kamvan (Surabhi Kunda)	6. Kamvan
7. Karhalā	7. Karhalā
8. Rāsolī	8. Soram
9. Soramji	9. Adel
10. Adel	10. Charnāta
11. Kashmir	11. Rajnager
12. Godhrā	12. Godhrā
13. Asārvā (i.e. Rajnagar)	13. Bhṛigu-Kshetra
	14. Kashmir

Sampradāya Kalpadruma mentions two more seats, viz; ~~Saranāta~~ Caranāta and Bhṛguksetra and does not mention Rāsolī, as popularly said, S'rī GO visited Broach while he journeyed to Gujarat and hence Bhṛguksetra-seat can be explained way reasonably. But the mention of Caranāt is doubtful.

...xix...

Some people mention one bethaka at Gokules'apura,
which is no other than Vallabhaghāṭa near Gokul. It
was inhabited after 1703 V.S. and GO passed away in
1697 V.S. Hence there cannot be any bethaka at
Gokules'apura.

Appendix - 7

Enlogies of Gokulanāthajī

श्रीगोकुलेशाष्टक of कृष्णराय and हरिरायजी etc.

111

यतिवशधरणीशे धर्मलोपं प्रवृत्ते हरिचरणे सहायो यः स्वधर्मं जुगोप ।
विहितभजनभारो धर्मरक्षावतारः स जगति जयति श्रीवल्लभो गोकुलेशः ॥१॥
असदुदितविदारो वेदवादानुसारी सदुचितद्वितकारी भक्तिमार्गप्रचारी ।
रुचिरतिलकधारी मालधारी तुलस्याः स जयति जयति श्रीवल्लभो गोकुलेशः ॥२॥
बहुविधजननर्मवाक्यवाणीरधर्मः प्रकटमयति धर्मस्फोटमारोद्धिषाम् ।
वपुषि भजनधर्मं प्राप्य कल्याणधर्मः स जयति नवकर्मा गोकुले गोकुलेशः ॥३॥
निगूढनिर्गुणधर्मद्रोहिणि क्षोणिनाथे सकलसर्ववैशस्तत्समीपं समेत्य ।
तदुचितमदमत्प्या दत्तवानुत्तरं यः स जयति जनचित्तानन्दको गोकुलेशः ॥४॥
अधिकृतयुक्धर्मं वर्धमाने समन्ताद् अनितरशरणाऽसौ वेदधर्मो यदाभूत् ।
तदिह शरणमागाद् यः सदैकः शरण्यं सजयति जनवन्द्यो गोकुले गोकुलेशः ॥५॥
कलिवृषलभयाप्तो तत्कलिं संक्षिप्य किंतिपतिरवितासीधेस्य पूर्वं परीक्षितः ।
इह हि नृपतिभीतिं तस्य धर्मस्य नित्यं सजयति भुवि गोप्ता गोकुले गोकुलेशः ॥६॥
प्रमममिह परीक्षितद्रक्षितः वर्णधर्मः पुनरपि कलिकल्पक्षुब्धमिदुक्षतोऽभूत् ।
अभयपदमिदं यं शाश्वतं चाभ्युपेतः स जयति निजभक्ताह्लादको गोकुलेशः ॥७॥
य इहिकं सकललोकैः केवलं न स्वकीये प्रभुभजनं बलेन स्थापयामास धर्मम् ।
सकलं सुखविधाता श्रीकुलानन्ददाता स जयति निजताताराधको गोकुलेशः ॥८॥
श्रीवल्लभाष्टकमिदं पठति यः-कृष्णस्स प्रपन्नो यः कृष्णरायकृतमित्पुष्पसि
सोऽयं सुदुर्लभतमानपि निश्चयेन प्राप्नोति वै विनिर्गुणतानखिलान्पदायाम् ॥९॥

- कृष्णरायस्य

121

उद्धर्तुं धरणीतले निजबलेनैव स्वकीयान् जनान् ।

आविर्भूय तथा कृपापरवशः श्रीविठ्ठलेशास्त्रये ।

यः श्रीभास्वतस्य तत्त्वविवृतेऽश्रिते पूर्वाहं वचः,

पीयूषरतीपोषणाय सततं श्रीगोकुलेशोऽवतु ॥१॥

यः पुष्टिमार्गगतभावविभावनैकदक्षः समक्षमपि सन्निधिसेवकानाम्।
 यो ज्ञानगूढदमः सदयः सदैव सेवासुखं मम तनोतु स गोकुलेशः ॥९॥
 यः श्रेष्ठः सततं सतां निजफलप्राप्सावदावर्तिना -
 माचार्योदितशुद्धपुष्टिसुपथे नित्यानुकम्पधरः ।
 यदृष्ट्यैव हृदयकारनिचयो मायात्क्षणात्क्षणीणता -
 मानन्दं मुहुरातनोतु मधुराकारः प्रभुर्वत्सलः ॥१॥
 यो मायामतवर्तिदुष्टवेदनध्वंसं वचोभिर्निजः
 कुर्वन्नेवकसर्वलोकहृदयानन्दं सदा पूजयन् ।
 तद्भावं सुदृढं करोति कृपया दासैकहृद्या तया
 मातानां शरणं हृदा स मनसां मोदे सदा यच्छतु ॥४॥
 हृदयदण्डनपङ्कजस्फुरदमन्दभावाद्गुह्यं
 कथोलविलसद्गजोद्भयविमिश्रताम्बुलदः ।
 समुन्नतसुनासिकः सरसचारुबिंबाशरी
 हरत्त्विलसैविनां चिरवियोगतापं क्षणाय ॥५॥
 मनोजम्बूराकृतिर्निजमनोविनोदोद्गति -
 कृते जनमनोहरी विरतिकारकः संसृती ।
 स्वभावपरिपूजको ज्ञवसमुद्रसंशोषकः
 करोतु वरणं सदा सफलमत्र वै वत्सलः ॥६॥
 गोधूममेचकमनोहरवण्दिहो यः केशकृष्णनिचयोत्सदुत्तमांगः ।
 सूक्ष्मोत्तरीयकटिवस्त्रविराजिष्ठाङ्गः संतनोतु मुदमद्भुतगोकुलेशः ॥७॥
 ताताज्ञिकपरायणाशयविद्वांस्वर्धः परानन्ददो
 माला येन सुरक्षिता निजमहायत्नेन कंठे सताम् ।
 धर्मी येन विपर्यितः पितृपदाचारैः सदा सर्वतः
 स श्रीगोकुलनायकः करुणया भूयाद्वशे सेविनाम् ॥८॥

सर्वं साधनजात्रमत्र विकलं नूनं विदित्वा जनाः
नित्यं तं भजत प्रियं प्रभुमयं त्यक्त्वेतरस्याश्रयम् ।
तन्नामानि जपंतु रूपमखिलं संचिंतयंतु स्वयं
सीत्थं तत्पूजावतोऽङ्गिलभितं सर्वं स्वतः प्राप्स्यते ॥१॥

131

कृष्णरायस्य नामरत्नमालावल्याम् -
गोकुलानंदकर्ता च गोकुलाधिकभूषणम् । गोवत्सलो गोकुलेशो गोकुल -
प्रीतिकारकः ॥११॥

आचार्यकृतसिद्धांतग्रंथव्याख्यानकारकः । पितामहपदासक्तः पितृपदाष्टभक्तिमान्
॥१२॥

मुखनिकषिततांबूलत्रिवितारुणसद्भिजः । पक्वविंवाधरोऽनन्यमिक्षदत्ताश्वरामृतः ॥११॥
सुमुखः सुंदरग्रीवः सुकपीलः सुनासिकः । सकर्णमुगविन्यस्तसुवर्णनिणिकुंडलः ॥१२॥

There are also मथुराष्टक by रूपाबाई, वत्सभाष्टक/पदी by तारासेवक, गोकुलेशनामावली by हरिरायजी, रुचिराष्टक by हरिदास, अष्टकम् by गोकुलदास, गोकुलनाथाष्टक of some unknown followers, गोकुलेशस्तव by कृष्णराय, गोकुलेशाष्टोत्तरशतनाम by विष्णुदास, पादुकाष्टक by उदय, बाललीलाष्टक by हरिदास and many other eulogies in the regional tongues.

APPENDIX No. 8.

Important Followers of Gō and their works

Name	Date (V.S.)	Place	Works
1. Rupaṅgai	1660 Circa	Prantij (?)	Madhuraṣṭaka Binatis विनती नित्यचरित्र
2. Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa	1660-1720 Circa	(Afterlife in Gokul)	गोकुलेशलीलासुपासिंधु (15 Parts) कत्तोल रसिकरंजनी (Commentary on Gītā) संस्कृत
3. Madhāvādaśa	1675 Circa	Valā (Saurashtra)	श्रीवत्सलभस्तीत्र, नायकनायिकाभेद, वत्सलभगीत रसाणवि, तात्पर्य(प्र)बोध, सज्जन मंडन श्रीवत्सलभचरित्र (नित्यचरित्र), विवाहखेल गूढरस, रसालय, रससिंधु, रसकोश, रसानंद, कृष्णचरित्र, विरहसंजोगनां खांडणां धौळपद, विनती, अष्टक, विलप्ति श्रीगोकुलेशनाममाहात्म्य (कांकरीली नं० १००।६।३) वत्सलभगणगार, भक्तमुखदमंजरी, अनुभवानंद, विरहगीता, रसमंजरी धौळ
4. Maridasbhai	Birth Circa 1680	Broach & Then Gokul	

Name	Date (V.S.)	Place	Works
------	-------------	-------	-------

5. Gomati (Daughter of Haridasbhai)	Death 1715 V.S.	Gokul	कमनरस 1 (गोकुलनाथजीनुं लीलावर्णन) प्राकट्यरसोत्सव, नित्यचरित्र चौक २१, पालखीनां सुखद, मंदिरसुंदर अष्टक
6. Gokuldas Kagde Nag	1700 Circa	Baroda	
7. Venidas Nagar	1700 Circa	Baroda	श्रीगोकुलगोवर्धनगणनागमन पवित्रांछवसमयवर्णन, गोवर्धननित्य चरित्र
8. Kishordas (Younger Brother of Mohanbhai)	1700 Circa	Broach	चौक, सेवाप्रकार
9. Gopal Gahvar	1720 Circa	?	श्रीगोकुलप्रतापमाह
10. Gopaladas Vyāravāla 3	Death 1717 Circa	Vyara & Gokul	श्रीगोकुललीलारसाविष्क्रीडा } (i.e. Five Books): कल्लोली (प्रागट्यसिद्धांत, गुजरातप्रसंग १९ रसिकरस तृतीयतरंग, मालोद्वार, पंचमतरंग ⁴ , स्वरूपरसावली, तत्त्वार्थदीहन, भक्तभावार्थ, मनप्रबोध गुोकुलेशपुर, विरहशानी विनती

1. It remained incomplete, later in 1751 V.S. Nagardas (son of Gokulbhai), completed it.
2. He & Jani Jaminadas had a hand in गुजरातगमनलीला (रसिकरस) by Gopaladas Vyāravāla.
3. The work वल्लभरत्नरसालय (मंगल १५)
नित्यचरित्र and विनती. Notes that Gopaladas Vyāravāla had also written
4. It remained incomplete and was finished by Nagardas (Son of Gokulbhai).

... ४४१ ...

Name	Date (V.S.)	Place	Works
11. Gokulbhai (Son of Dada Narayanji)	Birth 1665	Broach	स्वरूपानुभवओख रसलीला, नित्यचरित्र धौळ, पदहत्यादि
12. Jagjivanbhai	Birth 1860 Circa	Broach & Agra	प्रकीर्णपद
13. Dada Narayandas	1625 Circa	Broach Baroda	नवरस, कृष्णविवाह, विनती, धौळहत्यादि
14. Narayandas Vadodaria	?	Baroda	भावसुर भक्तनामावलि, कवित, मालाप्रसंगविजो
15. Nagardas (Son of Gokulbhai)	Birth 1692	Broach	ज्ञानप्रबोध, विरहरस, भजनानंद, कमरस(छ मांगल्य) सेवासिद्धांत, वत्सभलीला, विलासरसचरित्र, स्वरूपवर्णन - धौळ
16. Nihalchand	Contemporary of GO	Kamboi	धौळ
17. Fulkuyarbai	Birth 1808	Kapadvanj	विरहविनती
18. Madhavdas	Contemporary of GO	Sultanpur	भक्तनामावलि, धौळ, पद
19. Motabhai (i.e. Vajeram)	Birth 1765 Circa	Godhra	मोहनमकरंद, मोहनविप्रयोग, मोहनरत्नगोकुलशता विरहनां धौळ

...XIV...

Name	Date (V.S.)	Place	Works
20. Vallabhdas ⁵ (Younger Brother of Mohanbhai)	Birth 1670 Circa	Broach	ओच्छवसिद्धांतनिर्णय, वत्सभरस, वत्सभचरित्र, विवाहखेल, मालानोकरत्नो, भाग्यराशचरित्र, नवरस(सेवाविधि), वत्सभवशीकरण (?) घोळ, पद, इत्यादि
21. Vrindavandas ?		Agra	घोळ, पद इत्यादि, वत्सभवेले (?)
22. Vrajdas (Second son of Gokulbhai)	Circa 1689	Broadh	घोळ, पद, इत्यादि
23. SukhmiBhibhai	Birth 1797 or Probable 1825 Contemporary of GQ-	Nalanda Broach	वत्सभरत्नरसावली ⁶

5. He had also a hand in the वत्सभरत्नरसालयभक्तराज of सुरजी भार्गव . He had written two mangals.

6. Whether this is same as रत्नरसालकीडाकल्लील or it is different from it, is not certain.

Name	Date (V.S.)	Place	Works
24. Surji Bhargava	Probably Contemporary of GO	Broach	वल्गुभरत्नरसालय भन्तराज
25. Keshavlal Bhagnajari	1860 Circa	Hyderabad (Dn.)	मनप्रबोधटीका, वल्गुभवेस, ३० मंगल (प्राकट्यनो)
26. Sundarbaiji	Contemporary of GO.	Broach	मनप्रबोध
27. Sahajābhāi (Wife of Gokulbhai)	1665 (Circa)	Broach	भक्तनामावलि, नित्यचरित्र
28. Rājibāi	?	(Saurashtra)	१८ विनती
29. Madhavdas Mota	1700 Circa	Cambay	धौळ, पद
30. Govardhandas Pandya	1700 Circa	Broach	नित्यचरित्र
31. Govardhandas Pandya (as noted in Tattavarthadohan)	1700 Circa	?	नित्यचरित्र
32. Haridas Kayastha	?	?	रुचिराष्टकटीका, विरहगीत, नित्यचरित्र

Name	Date (V.S.)	Place	Works
33. Parshuram Sultanpuri	Contemporary of GO	Sultanpur	मित्यचरित्र
34. Sunderbhai Sultanpuri	1700 Circa	Sultanpur	मनप्रबोध
35. Manohardasbhai	1900 Circa	Gokuleshpur	लोकौत्तरसिदांतसारसंग्रह
36. Chandrachud Dravid	?	?	श्रीगोकुलाष्टक
37. Madhavji Bhatt	?	?	प्राकृतवार्ता (संस्कृतगद्य)
38. Vithaldasbhai (Mahad)	1700 Circa	?	खंडिणां
39. Vrajnathbhai	?	?	कवित
40. Vihari Brahman Kavi	?	?	मालोद्वारलीला, श्रीप्रभुउग्रप्रतापवर्णन
41. Madhusudan Bhatt	?	?	वंशानली
42. Goswami S'ri Ramanlalji	(Circa 1900)	Mathura	Gokules'takhyāna

...xxix...

Tattvārthadohana of Gopāldās notes some more writers: Muraridas, Raghunathdas Kāyastha, Kalyāṇa Pujari and Krishnarāy (Gokulnathaji's Sister's son). The last one has written eulogies in Sanskrit. Besides this, there are Harirāyajī, Uddhava Bhatta, Tarachand, Vishnudas, Chatur-Vihari, Pranānāth, and others who have written in praise of GO.

There are some works, like वररुचि मार्गप्रकाश,
गोकुलेश्वर कौमुदी, प्रकटरत्नावली, etc.
which are written in recent times. I have not
been able to trace them and ~~hence~~ ^{have} not come
to know about their authorship, and contents.

APPENDIX IX

Some Important (doctrinal) Sentences from Gokulanāthajī's Works:

- १। वस्तुतः संयोगानुभवे आनन्दः विप्रयोगानुभवे परमानन्दः।
- P.MS. P.22.
- २। श्रुतीनामत्यन्तालीङ्गिकप्रमाणत्वेन श्रुत्य एव रसात्मकब्रह्मणि प्रमाणम् । - P.MS P.47
- ३। ब्रह्मानन्दान्महानन्दो भजने वर्तते। - P.MS P.54.
- ४। स्वमार्गे भगवद्भजनस्यैव परमपुरुषार्थत्वं नान्यस्य। -P.MS.P.116.
- ५। तापाग्निज्वालात्मके (मार्गे) भजनमेव मुख्यम्। -P.MS.P.119
- ६। यत्र साधनानपेक्षात्वं तत्रैव पूर्णप्रमेयबलत्वं मन्तव्यं भवति।
-P.MS.P.253
- ७। तस्मात्मागचार्येण प्रभुद्वया तेषां वरणारविदेयोः सेवनं प्रभवदेव। - P.MS.P.262
- ८। भगवदर्थं प्रत्यक्षं नूतनतरसामग्रीं विधाय श्रीमत्स्वामिनीनां कृपाभावात्मकत्वमनुभावयन् (सां) समर्पणीया। -P.MS.P.270
- ९। साकारत्वैक्येन पुष्टिमार्गीयफलस्य सर्वेन्द्रियास्वास्त्यत्वं फलानुभवप्रकार इत्युक्तं भवति। -GVS . P.1.
- १०। यथा स्वर्गे देवानां पीयूषामिव जीवनहेतुस्तथैतन्मार्गीयाणां तद्यशः (वत्सलभयशः) पीयूषामिव जीवनहेतु रित्युक्तं भवति।
-GVS. P.68.
- ११। जीवे साक्षाद् भजनयोग्यता तदैव भवति यदि तत्र भगवदमाविर्भावः। (समर्पण गद्यार्थ) - GVS P.104
- १२। व्यसनभावोत्पत्तिपर्यन्तमेव साधनकृतिः अग्रे तस्य कर्तव्याभावात् कृतार्थता। - GVS - P.111

- १३। यावत्सुहृदः सर्वतोधिकः स्नेहोभवति तावत् सेवादिकरणे
अपराधाभावार्थं माहात्म्यज्ञानस्योपयोगः।-
(पुष्टिप्रवाह मर्यादा) - GVS. P.131
- १४। भक्तिमार्गस्य साक्षाद्दर्शनं हेतुत्वं न तु ज्ञानमार्गवन्मनस्यैवेति
नियमः। GVS.141
- १५। अस्मिन्मार्गे भगवदीयत्वमेव सर्वदोषनिवृत्तिहेतुः। -GVS.P.181
- १६। भक्तिमार्गे पुरुषोत्तमस्यैव सेव्यत्वात् सम्बन्धमात्रेणैव
सर्वेणां सर्वदोषनिवृत्तिः। - GVS.P.181
- १७। भक्तिमार्गे सेव्यः पुरुषोत्तम एव न तु तदंशस्तद्विभूतिरूपं वा।
- GVS. P.184
- १८। साक्षात्पुष्टिमार्गीयफलस्येतरसाधनासाध्यत्वात् पुरुषोत्तम-
भजनमेव साक्षात् पुष्टिमार्गीयफलसाधक(त्व)म्। GVS P.202
- १९। अस्मिन् मार्गे भजनं सेवैव। - GVS.P.202
- २०। सेवाकरणानंतरम् अवशिष्टकाले इतरव्यासंगाभावार्थं श्रवणम्।
-GVS.P.203
- २१। व्यसनं नाम तद्व्यतिरेकेण स्थातुमेव न शक्नोति। -GVS.P.206
- २२। स्वस्य भगवदासकत्वा निरुपाधिसनेहास्यदत्तैश्च भगवत्सेवात्मत्वं
स्फुरति न तु स्वात्मनि। - GVS P.208
- २३। स्वस्मिन् गोपिकाभावानुरूपभावनया सिद्धभावस्य साधनत्वमिष्टम्,
अन्यद् दानव्रतादिकमपि साधनत्वे नेष्टम्। - GVS P.252
(संन्यास निर्णय)
- २४। यथा विशेषिकृतक्षतनिष्पीडनकोपादीनां दुःखात्मकत्वं, तथा
क्षतत्वादिधर्मसाजात्यैपि संयोगरसान्तः पातित्वेन परमानंदरूपत्वं,
तथा विप्रयोगरसजनितवैकल्यादीनामपि विप्रयोगरसात्मकत्वेन....
न तेषां दुःखत्वम्। - GVS P.253-54

- २५। परमानंद ^{-दिहें} जीवनानुपत्ती परमानंद गुणानामेव जीवन-
संपादकत्वम्। - GVS P.258
- २६। यो यस्य प्रियः स तत्कार्यं सिद्धौ यदि विलम्बं सहेत
तदा प्रियत्वमेव न स्यात्.....। - GVS 273
- २७। तापात्मकं यद् दुःखं दृश्यते तस्य रसरूपत्वात् सुखरूपत्वमेव।
- NL (Telivala edition)P.38
- २८। एक नामनी महिमा इतनी है, जो जीवको पाप करिवे को
सामर्थ्य नाहीं।... भगवदीय को जो लीकिसुख है वही नर्क
है। - Vac No.72 ^{VS} ~~VS~~ Vol.II, No.3-4.
- २९। पीताना दोषा जाणे ते ज गुण छे । -Vac.No.75,ibid
- ३०। राजा मुधिष्ठिर को मिथ्या बोलिवे में दोषा न लाग्यो,
पै भगवद्वाक्य विष्णो सदेह कर्षी, जो नरो वा कुंजरो वा
कह्यो ताते दोषा लग्यो। -Vac No.76, Ibid
- ३१। साक्षात्संबंध विना सर्व साधन है। - Vac No.78,ibid
- ३२। जो कछू करे सो पाखंड रहित निष्कपट होई सांच
करे, तब जानिये महद्गुणग्रह भयो। - Vac No.86, ibid.
- ३३। मोटा जे मार्गे जात्या ते मार्गे ज नान्हे चालवुं। -Vac No.96,ibid
- ३४। जो क्राय है, आपको सात है। -Vac No.99, ibid
- ३५। केवल स्वप्न दर्शन बस नथी, विप्रयोग विना स्वाद ज नथी।
- Dayārama Library (Dabhoi) MS No. 683.
- ३६। जो कुंजर तें चेंटी पर्यंत सब में एक ही जीव जाननी। छोटे
बड़े सब जीव प्रभुके हैं। अंतर्धामी सबमें एक ही हैं और
प्रतिबिंब न्यारे न्यारे दीसत हैं, यह जान के भगवदीयकु
हिंसा ते अत्यंत डरयेत रहनी। - 24 Vac, No.2.

- ३७। क्रोध न करनी। क्रोध चाण्डाल स्वरूप है। भगवद्भाव
जात रहत है। - 24 Vac No.4.
- ३८। वैष्णव होयके काहू को अपराध न देखें अथवा सुनि नाहीं।
- 24 Vac No.7
- ३९। सत्संग होय तो भगवद्धर्म बढ़े, नाहीं तो अन्याश्रय थाय।
- 24 Vac No.19
- ४०। सेवा के अर्थ सौकिक कुटुम्ब को परीसी तथा राजा देशकाल
सगरे दुःख सहनी। - 24 Vac No.24.
- ४१। जो ठाकुरजी को बालककी उपमा देत है, ताको कहा भाव?
जो बालक तो सोना के मणिमाणिक के खिलीना ते न
रीझी और क्वाड़की सांकल खटखटाये ते रीझी। या सों
नियामक कह्यो नांहीं।- VS Vol.I-3, P.3.

APPENDIX X

Gokulanāthaji's Tract on the stanza

धन्यास्तु मुदमतयः (Bhāgavata X-18-11)

(N.B. The MS of the tract is available in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkarolī. It has three leaves of the size of 8"x 4" and has a note on it that it is unpublished. Its catalogue number is 35/21. The MS has mistakes^{at} some places. I have tried to correct it, wherever it has been possible for me to do so.)

धन्यास्तु..... प्रणयावलोकैः। अथवा पीठिकां निरूप्य
 वेणुनादतत्कार्यनिरूपणे प्रथमं हरिणीष्णु तत्कार्यं निरूपयन्ति
 धन्यास्त्विति। हरिणीष्णु धन्यत्वं निरूपितम्। तत्र च तत्कृतपूजाया
 हेतुत्वं निरूपितम्। तत्र मध्ये तु-शब्द उक्तः। स च सर्वत्र पूर्वपक्षाव्यावर्तकत्वेन
 निरूपितः। अत्र च पूर्वपक्षास्याश्रयमाणात्वात् तु-शब्दस्य कुत्र प्रयोग इति
 चेत् सत्यम्। यद्यपि साक्षात्पूर्वपक्षाश्रयणं नास्ति तथापि पाक्षिको
 दोषः परिहरणीय इति न्यायेन यदि कश्चित् पूर्वपक्षां संभावयेत्सोऽपि
 तु-शब्देन निवार्यति। ननु एतत्पूजां पूर्वपक्षास्यैवासंभवात्पाक्षिकदोषस्याप्य-
 संभव इति कथं तन्निवारणार्थमपि तुल्यं तु-शब्दः। सत्यम्।
 अतिदुष्टमनसां निर्दुष्टत्वेऽपि दोषास्फूर्तेः। यथा पित्तदुष्टरसनेन्द्रियस्य
 शर्करायामविद्यमानस्यापि कटुत्वप्रतीतिः। मनोदुष्टत्वेऽपि कं
 प्रकारमाश्रित्य दोषास्फूर्तिसंभवः। तत्र प्रकारः। तत्कृतपूजायाः
 शास्त्रीयताङ्गिराहित्येन तस्याः पूजात्वस्थैवासंभवात् कथं तथा धन्यत्वसिद्धिः।
 तत्र शास्त्रीयपूजाङ्गानि गणयति। तत्र पूजकस्य स्वरूपज्ञानं
 स्वस्मिंस्तद्व्यत्यर्थं पूजोद्देश्यत्वं फलानुसंधानं सततं सर्वेश्वरत्वेनपूज्यस्वरूपज्ञानं
 ततः पूजायां परमा श्रद्धा/पूजासाधनं संपादनं तथा देशकालमंत्रादीनामप्यंगत्वमिति

पक्षां तु-शब्दो व्यावर्तयति। ननु तु-शब्दे कथमेतद्व्यावृत्तिः।
तत्रोपपत्तिः। एषामंगाणां मर्यादामार्गीयत्वात्। एतत्कृतपूजायाः
पुष्टिशुद्धपुष्टिमार्गीयत्वात् मर्यादामार्गीयंगाभावोऽत्र भूषणं न तु
दूषणं मार्गभिदात्। अन्यथा मार्गभिदो न स्यात्। तस्मात् तस्मात्
पुष्टिमार्गीयधर्माणां मर्यादामार्गे दूषणत्वं यथा तथा
मर्यादामार्गीयाणामस्मिन्मार्गे कृम दूषणत्वमिति तु-शब्देन
मर्यादापक्षाव्यावृत्तावियमुपपत्तिः। ननु तथापि तासां पशुत्वान्मूढत्वेन
शुद्धपुष्टिमार्गज्ञानात्कथं तत्कृतपूजाया धन्यत्वहेतुत्वम्। यद्यपि
त्वन्मते मूढमतित्वं तथापि अपि-शब्देन शुद्धपुष्टिमार्गेऽमूढमतित्वं
ज्ञाप्यते। तेनायमर्थः सिद्धः। मर्यादामार्गे मूढमतयः
पुष्टिमार्गेऽमूढमतयः। अन्यथा अपि-शब्दवैयर्थ्यापत्तिः। ननु कथमेतासां
पुष्टिमार्गीयामूढत्वम्। मर्यादामार्गीयस्वस्वरूपविरुद्धज्ञानवत्त्वात्।
विरुद्धत्वं पशुत्वविस्मरणापूर्वकं नायिकात्वम्। प्रभावपितन्मार्गा-
प्रसिद्धधर्मवत्त्वज्ञानादमूढमतित्वम्। ननु कथमेवं ज्ञायते। एतासां
स्वस्मिन्प्रभावपि एतादृशं ज्ञानमन्यथा वक्ष्यमाणकार्यं नोपपद्येत।
कथं नोपपद्येतेति चेत्। यदि स्वस्मिन् पशुत्वज्ञानमेव भवेत् तज्ज्ञातेरिति
भीरुत्वात् प्रभुसमीपे स्थितिर्न स्यात् भीरुत्वस्य बाधकत्वात्।
कदाचिन्नादाधीनतया स्थितावपि प्रभुसौन्दर्यविचित्रवेशानुसंधानपूर्वकं
दर्शनं न कुर्युः। एतावता भक्तभक्ति भावाधीना बाह्यकृतिर्निरूपिता
वेणुनादजन्मा। पुनः वेणुनादजन्यमांतरभावं निरूपयन्ति। आकर्ण्य वेणुरणितं
सह कृम कृष्णसारा इति। यद्यपि पूर्वं नन्दनन्दनमिति कथनादिदानीमाकर्ण्येति
कथनानन्दनन्दनं निरीक्ष्य वेणुरणितमाकर्ण्येति क्रियाद्वयमपेक्षितं
तथापि उभयत्राप्येकक्रियानिरूपणस्यायमाशयः। नन्दनन्दनमिति

निरूपणेन दर्शनस्यानुक्तसिद्धत्वाद्दर्शनस्य न पृथङ् निरूपणम्।
 वेणुनादश्रवणे क्रियानिरूपणेन दृष्टमपि स्वरूपं वेणुनादश्रवणद्वारैव
 हृद्यागच्छमिति एकक्रियानिरूपणम्। ननु कथमेतज्ज्ञायते
 नादाकर्णनन्दारैव स्वरूपं हृद्यागतमिति। तत्र हृद्यागमनज्ञापकं
 कार्यमाहुः। सह कृष्णसारा इति। अयमर्थः। सह नादप्रवेशेन सहैव
 यताकृष्णसारा जाताः। कृष्णः एव सारो यासाम्। अन्तः स्वरूपमनुभूय
 तादृश्यो जाताः। एतादृत्कमन्तः स्वरूपानुभवं विना न
 संभवतीति आकर्ण्येत्येव क्रिया। ननु कथमेतासामन्तःस्वरूपानुभवो जात
 इति ज्ञायते। तत्र तत्ज्ञापकमाहुः पूजां दधुः विरचितां प्रणयावलोकैरिति।
 यद्यन्तः स्वरूपानुभवो न स्यात् तदा भगवति परमस्नेहो न स्यात्। स्नेहकार्यं
 च भावपूर्वककटाक्षः भगवत्पूजनं च न स्यात्। ननु एतासां पुष्टिमार्गीयभावत्वा-
 न्निरूपिकाणां पुष्टिमार्गीयत्वात्तन्मार्गी सेवाया एव मुख्यत्वात्
 पूजायाश्च गीणात्वात् कथमेतन्मार्गीयभावकृतेः पूजात्वम्। तत्रहेतुः।
 यद्यप्यत्रापि भावाधीनकार्यत्वेन सेवात्वसंभवेऽपि पुष्टिमार्गीयसेवात्वाभावात्
 स्वामिनीनां च तस्या एव सेवात्वादेतत्कृतसेवायाः साक्षात्प्रभुसंबन्ध -
 राहित्येन ^{नो पुष्टि} पुष्टिरूपत्वम्। परंतु तत्कृतेर्भावाधीनत्वेऽपि पूज्यपूजकयोरिव
 परस्परं मनस्तोषजननात् तस्याः कृतेः पूजासाम्यात् पूजात्वमुक्तम्।
 तथाप्यत्रैतावान् विशेषः। तत्र पूज्यतोषस्य ज्ञातुमशक्यत्वात् तोषसंदेह
 एव। अत्र च भगवतोऽपि तत्प्रति पूजनेन तासु तोषानिश्चयेन
 ततोऽप्याधिक्यमेतत्कृतपूजायाः। प्रतिपूजनं च पूजां दधुः विरचितां
 प्रणयावलोकैरित्येतस्यान्योन्यपूजाप्रकारेणैवाचार्यव्याख्यातमिति
 भगवत्कृतप्रणयावलोकनरूपपूजायाः प्रतिपूजनरूपत्वं स्पष्टमिति सर्वमनवद्यम्।
 इति श्रीमद्वत्सलाभिधश्रीगोकुलनाथेन विरचितं धन्यास्त्वित्येतस्य
 विवरणं समाप्तिमगमत्। श्रीगोकुलेशो जयतितराम् ॥७॥

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

•

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Author or editor or Publisher))))-----		Title and edition of the work -----((((
<u>(A) Works in English</u>		
Bhandarkar R.G.	1	Shayism Vaishnavism etc. G.O.S.Class B No.4 Vol.IV, (1929 A.D.).
Commissariat M.S.	2	A History of Gujarat, Vol.II, Longmen's Green & Co., (1938 A.D.).
Dasgupta S.N.	3	A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol.IV, Cambridge University Press, (1949 A.D.).
De S. K.	4	Early History of Vaishnava Faith & Movement in Bengal, Calcutta, (1942 A.D.).
G.A. Natesan & Co.	5	Vallabhacharya, Madras , (1918 A.D.).
Ghate V.S.	6	The Vedanta, B.O.R.I, Poona, (1926 A.D.).
Glasenapp H. Von	7	Doctrines of Vallabhacharya, Trans. by I.S. Amin, Pub. S'uddhadvaita Samsad, (1962 A.D.).
Hastings James	8	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol.XII, (1921 A.D.).

...2...

- | | | |
|---------------------|----|---|
| Ishveriprasad | 9 | History of Medieval India,
Indian Press, Allahabad,
(1940 A.D.). |
| Johannes P. | 10 | To Christ through Vedanta :
Part III Vallabha, Catholic
Press, Ranchi, (3rd edition,
1944 A.D.). |
| Munshi K.M. | 11 | Gujarat and its Literature,
(Second edition, 1954 A.D.). |
| Parekh M.C. | 12 | Shri Vallabhacharya: Life,
teachings and movement,
Harmony House, Rajkot,
(1943 A.D.). |
| Kadhakrishnan S. | 13 | Indian Philosophy, Vol.II,
(1948 A.D.). |
| Rogers Alexander | 14 | Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, R.A.S.,
London, (1909 A.D.). |
| Sirkan Mahendranath | 15 | Mysticism in Bhagvad Gita,
Longmans, Green & Co, Calcutta. |
| Smith Vincent | 16 | Akbar: the Great Mogul,
(Second edition 1919 A.D.). |
| " | 17 | History of India, Oxford
Clarendon Press, (1924 A.D.). |
| Thoothi N.A. | 18 | Vaisnavas of Gujarat, ^{Longmans,} Green
& Co., (1935 A.D.). |

...૩...

Willians M.	19	Hinduism, Susil Gupta Ltd., Calcutta (1951 A.D.).
Zaveri K.M.	20	Imperial Firmans, The New Printing Press, Bombay.

(B) Works in Gujarati

લેખક, સંપાદક અથવા અનુવાદક		ગ્રંથનું નામ અને આવૃત્તિ
ગણિ મેઘવિજય	૧	વર્ષા પ્રબોધ અને અષ્ટાંશ નિમિત્ત, પ્રંપીપટલાલ શાહ, ભાવનગર, (ઈ. ૧૯૨૭).
ગાંધી મં. લાં.	૨	શ્રીમોકુલેશજીનું જીવનચરિત્ર, પ્રં.લં.છંદેસાઈ, (ઈ. સં. ૧૯૭૮).
ગાંધી નાં. નાં.	૩	વિદ્વન્મંડન, (અનુવાદ), (સં. ૧૯૩૯).
" "	૪	શ્રીસુબોધરત્નાકર, પ્રં.વં.હં.શાસ્ત્રી, (ઈ. ૧૯૩૯).
ગોપાલદાસ	૫	વલ્લભાખ્યાન, પ્રં.લં.છંદેસાઈ, (સં. ૧૯૯૪).
ગોપાલદાસ વ્યારાવાલા	૬	તત્ત્વાર્થદીપન, પ્રં.શુદ્ધાદિત સંસદ, (ઈ. ૧૯૫૩).

गौस्वामी श्रीरमणलालजी	७	गोकुलेशाख्यान (सं० १९८२).
जोशी उमाशंकर जे०	८	अखी: एक अध्ययन (ई० १९४१).
" "	९	अखाना छप्पा (ई० १९५३).
झवेरी कृ० मो०	१०	गुजराती साहित्यना मार्गसूचक स्तंभी, (द्वितीयावृत्ति: सं० २००४).
दीनकिंकर	११	श्रीगोकुलेशजीना हास्यप्रसंगी भा० २, (सं० १९८६).
देसाई ल०छ०	१२	श्रीगोकुलनाथजीनां २४ वचनामृत
" "	१३	८४ वैष्णवनी वार्ता, (ई० १९४०).
दोशी पु०सां० अने ची०म०वैद्य	१४	श्रीगोकुलेश धीळ पद माधुरी, प्र०शुद्धादितसंसद, (ई० १९६१).
दोशी पु० सां०	१५	सेवासुधा, प्र०शुद्धादित संसद, (ई० १९५९).
परीख उ०सां०	१६	कर्मरहित शुद्ध भक्तिमार्ग अने तिलकनिर्णय, (ई० १९३८).
" "	१७	भररुचि नीमडिआ कलह, (सं० १९८१).
पारेख ल० प्रा०	१८	श्रीमद्वल्लभाचार्यजी, प्र०पु०यु०परिषाद् मुंबई, तृतीयावृत्ति (सं० १९९२).
पारेख ल० प्रा०	१९	मालाप्रसंगनी सार (ई० १९०८).
पुष्पिमार्गीय पुस्तकालय, नडिमाद	२०	श्रीमहाप्रभु स्तुतिमुक्तावली भा० १, (ई० १९४५).
पं० सधुदास	२१	वल्लभकल्पद्रुम, प्र०शुद्धादित संसद, (ई० १९५०).
पीपटलाल मूलजी	२२	पुष्पिमार्गीय उत्सवों की दो वर्षाँकी (१९७३-७४, १९७४-७५) टीमणी, गट्टलालजी संस्था, मुंबई.

भट्ट गी० ह०	२३	अणुभाष्य प्रथमाध्याय(अनुवाद), (ई० १९४५).
महेता नं० दे०	२४	हिंद तत्त्वज्ञाननी इतिहास, (प्रथमावृत्ति: ई० १९२५).
मोदी रा०चु०	२५	लेख संग्रह, प्र०पु०भी०शाह, पाठण, (ई० १९५३).
वैद्य स्त्री० म०	२६	श्रीगोकुलेशवाक्सुधा भा०१, प्र०शुद्धादित संसद्, (ई० १९५२).
शास्त्री कल्याणजी का०	२७	वंशावली, प्र०आसनमल ट्रस्ट, मुंबई, (ई० १९४३).
अने पेटलादी र० व०	२८	ब्रह्मवादप्रवेशिका, (ई० १९४९).
शास्त्री के० का०	२८	नारद अने शांडिल्यनां भक्तिसूत्रो, (अनुवाद), प्र०शुद्धादित संसद् (ई० १९५७).
" "	२९	महाप्रभु श्रीवल्लभाचार्य, प्र०म०स० युनिवर्सिटी। बडौदा.
" "	३०	वैष्णवधर्मनी संक्षिप्त इतिहास, प्र० फार्बस, गु०स०, (ई० १९१७).
शास्त्री दु० के०	३१	सेवा सर्वस्व, (कपडवंज), (सं० २००८).
शास्त्री नरोत्तम मो०	३२	शुद्धादित सिद्धांत प्रदीप, तृतीयावृत्ति, (ई० १९५७).
शास्त्री म०ग० अने गौ०ह०भट्ट	३३	पुष्टिमार्गीनी इतिहास, प्रथमावृत्ति, (सं० १९८२).
शास्त्री व०ह०	३४	अणुभाष्य भा०१-२, (अनुवाद), (२१.१९८३ - ८५).
शाह० जे० गी०	३५	द्वै टोडरमल स्मारक ग्रंथ, (ई० १९५७).
शाह वा०न० इत्यादि	३६	

(C) Works in Hindi

लेखक, संपादक अथवा अनुवादक	ग्रंथका नाम व संस्करण
कवि नरसिंग भाणजी ब्रह्मभट्ट	वल्गुभवंश पद्य वचनामृत, प्र०सनातन भक्तिमार्गीय साहित्य सेवासदन, मथुरा (सं० १९८६).
गुप्त दीनदयाल	अष्टछाप और वल्गुभसंप्रदाय, प्र०हिंदी साहित्य समेलन, प्रयाग (सं० २००४).
गी० श्री द्वारकेशजी	भावभावना, प्र०अष्ट छाप स्मारक समिति, मथुरा, (सं० २०१७).
टंडन हरिहरनाथ	वार्ता साहित्य : एक बुद्ध अध्ययन, प्र० भारत प्रकाशन मंदिर, अलीगढ़, (ई० १९६०).
दीसावल ब्रजभूषणदास	वल्गुभविलास भा० ३-४, (सं० १९५९).
देसाई ल० छ०	काका वल्गुभजी के वचनामृत
" "	श्रीगिरधरजी के १२० वचनामृत, (सं० १९७९).
देसाई ल०छ०	श्रीगोकुलनाथजी कृत निजवार्ता-घरुवार्ता- बैठकचरित्र, (सं० १९७९).
" "	श्रीगोकुलनाथजी कृत भावसिंधु, (सं० १९७८).
द्विवेदी हजारीप्रसाद	कबीर (तृतीय संस्करण : ई० १९५०).
नाभादास	भक्तमाला, प्र० हरिप्रसाद भगीरथजी, (सं० १९५२).

परीख द्वारकादास	१२	सृष्ट्युत्पत्तिवार्ता.
परीख द्वारकादास	१३	८४ वैष्णवन की वार्ता (भावप्रकाश सहित), (सं० २०१०).
परीख द्वारकादास	१४	प्राचीन वार्ता रहस्य भा० १-२, प्र० विद्याविभाग, कांकरोली, (सं० १९९६-९८).
गो० श्री ब्रजभूषणजी और परीख द्वारकादास	१५	२५२ वैष्णवनकी वार्ता भा० १-२-३, (सं० २००८ - १०).
भट्ट विठ्ठलनाथजी	१६	संप्रदाय कल्पद्रुम, प्र० वैकुण्ठेश्वर प्रेस, (प्रथम संस्करण : सं० १९५०).
मिश्र गणेशविहारी आदि	१७	मिश्रबंधु विनोद, प्र० गंगा पुस्तकमाला, (सं० २०१३).
मुखिया कालूराम और ठक्कर ए० ही०	१८	श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत रहस्य भावना, जाम खंभालिया, (सं० १९८३).
रामनारायण	१९	वनयात्रा (लिथो प्रिन्ट), मथुरा, (सं० १९७३).
वर्मा रामकुमार	२०	कबीरका रहस्यवाद, (ई० १९५१).
श्याम काशी प्रेस	२१	श्रीगोवर्धननाथजीके प्रागद्वयकी वार्ता, (लिथो प्रिन्ट) मथुरा, (ई० १८९४).

(D) Works in Sanskrit

अनैके गौ० चरणाः	१	वादावलिः, सं० पं० रमानाथ शर्मा, (सं० १९७६).
करमरकर रंदा०	२	कालिदासकृत मालविकाग्निमित्रम्, (ई० १९१८).
गजेन्द्रगडकर ए०बी०	३	कालिदासकृत अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तलम्, (ई० १९५१).
गदाधरदास	४	संप्रदाय प्रदीपः, प्र० विद्याविभाग, कांकरोली.
गांधी ना० ना०	५	श्रीगोकुलेश वाक्सुधा (गुर्जरभाषानुवाद- सहिता) प्र० वा० न० शाह, मुंबई, (सं० २००९).
गौ० गिरिधरजी	६	शुद्धादित मार्तण्डः, चौखंबा संस्की, (ई० १९०९).
गौ यदुनाथजी	७	वत्सलभदिग्विजय सहितम्
गौ० श्रीविठ्ठलनाथजी	८	श्रीमती टिप्पणी, सं० मू० तु० तैलीवाला, (ई० १९७७).
" "	९	भक्तिहंसः, सं० बलभद्र शर्मा, प्र० पु० यु० परिषद्, मुंबई, (ई० १९६०).
" "	१०	भक्तिहेतुनिर्णयः, सं० शास्त्री स्व० बी० एवं शास्त्री चि० ह०, (सं० १९७८).
" "	११	वत्सलभाष्टकम्, (चतुर्तीका समेतम्), पुष्पिपुस्तकालय, नडियाद.
" "	१२	शृंगाररसमंडनम्, सं० मू० तु० तैलीवाला.
निर्णयसागर प्रेस	१३	अष्टाविंशत्युपनिषदः (ई० १९४६).
परीक्ष उ० सां०	१४	श्रीमद्वत्सलभाचार्य वंशस्वरूपनिरूपणम्, (बृहती टीकाया अंशः, अस्मत्कुलं निष्कलंकमित्युपरि स्वतंत्रः).

पं० नारायण

मू० पुस्तकालय	१५	बृहत्सूत्र सरित्सागरः, मुंबई, (ई० १९२७).
पं० बालमुकुंद शर्मा	१६	श्रीदंडाकारदीवाकरः, प्र० श्रीगोकुलेशसेवक समाज, वीरपुर, (सं० २००२).
मुरलीधरदास	१७	वत्सभदिग्विजयः वत्सभचरित्रम्.
यास्क	१८	निरुक्तम्, (आनंदाश्रमसंस्करणम्).
वत्सभाचार्यजी	१९	अणुभाष्यम्, सं० पं० श्रीधर पाठक, (ई० १९२१).
" " "	२०	श्रीमद्गायत्रीभाष्यम्, सं० म० ग० शास्त्री, (तृतीयावृत्ति : सं० १९७४).
" "	२१	पत्रावलंबनम्, सं० गी० ह० भट्ट, (ई० १९६०).
" "	२२	सप्रकाशतत्त्वार्थदीप निबंधः, सं० ह० ओं० शास्त्री, (आसनमल ट्रस्ट), (सं० १९९९).
" "	२३	सुबोधिन्याः प्रथमस्कंधः, सं० मू० तु० तेलीवाला, (सं० १९८३).
" "	२४	जौडशग्रंथाः (सीटीकाः) यमुनाष्टकम्, चतुःश्लोकी) सं० चि० ह० विवेकधर्याश्रय, अंतःकरणप्रबोध,) शास्त्री सिद्धांतमुक्तावली, पुष्टिप्रवाहमर्यादा) सं० मू० सिद्धांतरहस्यम्, नवरत्नम्, भक्तिवर्धिनी) तु० जलभेदः, निरोधलक्षणम्, संन्यासनिर्णयः) तेलीवाला सेवाफलम्) पी० वू० साकलिया
		(प्रकाशन वर्ष सं० १९७३-८४).
		कृष्णाश्रयः सं० शास्त्री ह० शर्मा.

हरिरामजी आदयः	२५	ब्रह्मस ब्रह्मवाद संग्रहः (का०सं०सीरीझा), (ई० १९२८).
हरिरामजी	२६	हरिरामवाङ्मुक्तावली भा० १-२, प्र०पुष्टि० पुस्तकालय, (ई० १९३७).

(E) Manuscripts

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Ghanes'yāmajī	1	Guptarasa Tīkā
Gokulanāthajī	2	Guptarasa tīkā
Gokulanāthajī	3	Br̥hati Tīkā (or the Svātantryake) on the S.S. (Porbandar & Ujjain MSS).
Gokulanāthajī	4	Varavākyāmṛtaratnakos'a
Gopaldas Vyaravala	5	Bhakta Bhāvārtha
Gopaldas Vyaravala	6	Gokules'apure
" " "	7	Gujarat Prasaṅga (or Rasikarasa).
" " "	8	Mālloddhara
" " "	9	Kallola Pañcama Taraṅga
" " "	10	Prakṛtya Siddhānta
" " "	11	Tr̥tiya Taraṅga
" " "	12.	Svarūpa Rasāvalī
Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa	13	Kallola

...11...

454
+46

500
Total
pages

Mahāvādāsa	14	Rasakos'a
"	15	Rasasindhu
"	16	Sajjana Mandana
Śurajī Bhārgava	17	Vallabha-ratna-rasālaya- bhaktarāja
Vrajanāthajī	18	Lalita-tribhangistotra-tīkā

Moreover several MSS of the Bhāvanās
and Vacanāmṛtas are referred to and they are
mentioned at the relevant places.

(F) Periodicals

Anugraha, Puṣṭipīyūṣa, Puṣṭisudhā, Puṣṭibhaktisudhā,
Vaiṣṇavadharmapatākā, Vallabhīya Sudhā, Venunāda,
Suddhādvaita and Bhaktīmārtanda, etc., etc.

0 0 0 0 0

@ @ @ @

£ £ £

+ +

*

,

= S'rī Kṛṣṇārpanamastu =